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NOTES ON SOME FOLKLORE FORMS IN TSONGA AND RONGA

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SYNOPSIS

Folktales are told only at night among the Tsonga-Ronga people. Usually women and men only occasionally tell folktales. The narrator introduces the tale by a special formula, and his audience responds with karingana, either only at the beginning or as a "refrain" throughout the story. Songs and refrains, which are often unintelligible, commonly accompany the story. A special formula indicates that the folktale has come to an end. Riddles, and the "charcoal game" are also played at night, by children mainly. No special words introduce these games. Proverbs are used by everyone, at any time of the day. The Tsonga and Ronga people have special terms to refer to riddles, folktales, proverbs and the "charcoal game".

1.0. INTRODUCTION.

The research on which this article is based was started in order to investigate the use made by H. A. Junod¹, H. P. Junod and A. A. Jaques² of the terms **mhumhana** and **xitekatekisana** in reference to Tsonga-Ronga riddles. **Mhumhana** is used by these authors to refer to riddles whose answer consists of one word, and **xitekatekisana** to those whose answer consists of several words. If Tsonga and Ronga really have two terms for these two structurally different types of riddles, then they are, as far as we know, the only Bantu languages in which this structural difference is thus recognized. Therefore, it is interesting to find out from the people themselves how they use the terms mentioned above.

As the customs surrounding the use of folktales, riddles and proverbs among the Bantu vary greatly from tribe to tribe, more details than are so far available about these aspects of folklore are necessary, and this paper is intended to supplement the available knowledge. It presents the results of an investi-

gation carried out with four Portuguese East Africa³ Tsonga speakers, one Ronga and one Djonga speaker, and three Northern Transvaal Tsonga speakers. "The terms mentioned below were found, however, to be used by a much wider circle of people, though these were questioned only very briefly, "in passing". I was careful to question people who did not know; or did not think of the books which refer to the subject treated here, and the discussion was carried out in such a way as not to make the aim of my question apparent, since informants are often liable to give one the answer they suspect one wants to hear. I wanted to be given the terms the people use themselves, and not necessarily those which might have been learnt at school. I talked with some older people, with a number between the ages of 35 and 55, and with a few young people of less than thirty.

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¹H.A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 2nd ed., London, 1912.

²H.P. Junod and A.A. Jaques, *Vuthari Bya Vatsonga (Machangana)*, 2nd ed., 1958.

³Henceforth abbreviated to P.E.A.

helped me with their knowledge. I wish to thank also all those whose names cannot be mentioned here, but who have been of great assistance to me in this work.

2.0. FOLKTALES.

2.1. *P.E.A. Tsonga Folktales*

According to P.E.A. Tsonga speakers **kucha xihitana** means "to relate a folktale". Instead of **xihitana** (class 7 noun; plural **swihitana**, cl. 8)¹, **nsungu** (cl. 3; pl. **minsungu**, cl. 4) or **karingana** (cl. 3; pl. **mikaringana**, cl. 4) are also used. There appears to be no difference of meaning between these three terms, but the first two are more commonly used than the third. Each speaker will use one of these in preference to the others but all those questioned knew all three terms.

To say that a folktale is "about" such and such a subject, in Tsonga one uses the verb **kukhumba** (to touch, to touch on). For instance, if the folktale is about the hare, it will be said: **Xihitana lexi xikhumba n'wampfundla** (This folktale "touches on" the hare).

2.1.2. When about to start a tale, the narrator says: **Karingana wakaringana**. All those present answer: **Karingana**. Then the narrator starts with the story. He often starts with such words as **Khale kakona** (Long ago), **Khale akuri ni . . .** (Long ago there was . . .), or with any other words that he or she may choose. When the story is finished, the narrator says **Phu** (or **thu**) **karingana**. I found no one who knows what the word **karingana** means when used as a formula or refrain; people questioned said it was "just a word used with folktales". Obviously the nominal form (2.1.1 above) is a derivative from this "formula".

The explosive consonants in **phu** and **thu** are respectively interlabial² aspirated and interdental aspirated stops, both with lip-rounding, and not the bilabial and alveolar (or dental) aspirated stops normally used in Tsonga. These interlabial and interdental consonants I have not encountered in any other Tsonga word.

When recording a folktale narrated by a man coming from Bilene Macia (P.E.A., 150 kilometres north of Lourenço Marques), the audience would say **karingana** at the end of each phrase or sentence of the narrator. Some people require the audience to answer thus throughout the telling of the tale. If the audience does not take up the regular answering of **karingana**, the narrator will say: "Don't you answer me?" and all those present will then know that they are expected to punctuate each pause by **karingana**. It seems to be a matter of individual preference whether the audience should intone this response only at the beginning of the folktale or all through the story. All the people whom I questioned from Chicumbane (200 kilometres north of Lourenço Marques), or from whom I recorded folktales, required the formula only as an introduction to the tale.

The above-mentioned formulae are used for relatively short folktales (i.e. those taking from five to thirty minutes to tell). I was told that if the tale is considerably longer (some take nearly an hour to relate), the narrator starts with the words **Vakweza, vakweza**, and the audience answers **Vakweza, vakweza**, after which the narrator starts; or else the latter may repeat **Vakweza, vakweza**, and the audience again answers **Vakweza**, before the folktale is begun. This formula appears to be much rarer than the one of **Karingana wakaringana**, or it may be used only in certain dialects, for I have not yet heard anyone using it. Even the informant who told me of it never used it herself. Were the folktales too short for this latter formula, or is the formula obsolescent?

2.1.3. In the folktale, especially if it relates to human beings, the narrator commonly introduces the names of persons present in the audience to make the story more lively. He often associates a certain character of the tale with a particular person, when he feels that the two have some physical or personality traits in common. If the narrator thus successfully caricatures or even reveals some so far unknown feature of the people concerned, he causes much laughter, and

¹The Meinhof numbering of noun classes is followed here.

²That is, with the tongue-tip between the closed lips.

becomes very popular with everyone as a story-teller.

2.1.4. At the end of the folktale, everyone present must find words which will "kill the tale". If the tale was about hunting, the people will name a gun, a stick, a long knife, a bow, an axe, etc. These words will "kill the folktale" so that the story and its characters will not pursue the people in their dreams. If the folktale is about carrying, such words as **xirhundzu** (conical basket), **rihlelo** (winnowing basket), **xindzavana** (small hand basket), **khuwana** (large earthenware pot for carrying water) will be quickly called out by members of the audience.

2.1.5. Most Tsonga folktales relating to human beings, and frequently also animal tales, contain little songs. The narrator starts singing, and everyone joins in the refrain. If the song represents the conversation of two characters, the narrator may sing the words of the main one, the audience singing the words of the other. If the people present do not know the song, the person who tells the folktale teaches it to everyone. There is no shyness, everyone co-operates—and learns amazingly quickly!

The songs are usually a magic formula which the character has to sing to bring about some special occurrence. For instance the young bride, whose sole companion¹ is a little cat, will, when she wants to call the cat to help her perform household duties, sing the magic words which her mother has taught her before giving her the cat. Or the girl who has lost her axe in the river is told by all the little frogs to sing a certain song, which they teach her, and which will bring back the lost axe.

As is common with magic formulae, the words of these songs are often unintelligible to the narrator and to his audience. However, they are learnt, sung and handed down to the next generation, because they form an integral part of the folktale in question. The words of the song may be unintelligible because they are archaic or obsolete, and no

longer used in the language, or because they are merely a series of euphonic syllables. However, in P.E.A., most of the unintelligible songs found in Tsonga folktales are said to be in the Ndaue language, with whose speakers the Tsonga had historic contact through warfare.²

One folktale recorded had a song said to be in Xikua, i.e. Makua spoken in the northern part of P.E.A. Sometimes the narrator will suggest the meaning of these songs, especially if the person from whom he first heard the tale gave an explanation about the words used. I have not yet had the opportunity to record Ronga or Northern Transvaal folktales or to investigate the language used in the songs in these tales.

2.1.6. Folktales are usually related at night around the fire, when everyone has finished his work and has time to spare before going to sleep. They may be told at any time of the year, although winter is the favourite season as everyone then gathers around the fire. They are mainly an evening pastime, since the daytime must be reserved for work. Adults do not tell folktales during the day, even to children. As for the latter, if found relating tales during the day, they are told to stop lest they should grow horns. However children do not very commonly indulge in story-telling during the day as it is the parents and grandparents who usually know and relate the folktales.

It is women who most commonly tell folktales, but men also do so sometimes. As a matter of fact, several men were among my best informants, and many women under fifty who were questioned said they knew no folktales. Children will relate a tale if asked to do so by an adult, or if they want to show what they know.

2.2. Ronga Folktales

2.2.1. In Ronga, a folktale is called **xihitana** or **nsungu**, but never **karingana**. "To relate a folktale" is **kutha xihitana** or **kutha nsungu**. The introductory formula

¹Among the Tsonga people, it is customary for a young bride to be accompanied by a younger sister or cousin, who will stay with her in her new home and help her for a few weeks, to perform agricultural and household duties.

²Witchdoctors and exorcists, when talking to the ancestors or to evil spirits, also use unintelligible words, which are said to be Ndaue.

is the same as in Tsonga, **Karingana wakaringana**, with the answer **Karingana**. At the end of the tale, the narrator says **Thu, karingana**. Here also /th/ is an interdental aspirated stop. My informant volunteered that **thu** is cognate with **kuthuka** (to spit): the narrator has finished his story, he has spat it out. Most probably the Tsonga **phu** or **thu** have the same origin, although **kuthuka** does not exist in modern P.E.A. Tsonga dialects. In P.E.A. Tsonga dialects "to spit" is **kutshwita** or **kupshwita** [kʊʃhita] or [kʊpʃhita] in which [ʃ] is a voiceless alveolarbilabial "whistling" fricative. But in the Northern Transvaal dialects, **kutshuta** is commonly used.

Like the Tsonga, the Ronga sometimes answer **karingana** throughout the narration of the tale, at the end of each word-group. More commonly, however, the response **karingana** is confined to the sentences introducing the tale. For example, before relating the events of the folktale, the narrator might describe the characters involved, and explain the circumstances which form the background to the events to be described. When he has finished this little introduction, and wants the audience to stop interposing **karingana** between each one of his sentences, he says something to the effect that "now he really wants to tell the story"—and therefore wants no more interruptions.

Folktales are usually related by adults, men or women, at night only. Of course children may tell each other folktales during daytime, but if found doing so they are told that they will grow horns or lose their hair.

2.3. Northern Transvaal Tsonga Folktales

2.3.1. (N)Tsheketo (cl. 3, pl. **mitsheke-to**, cl. 4) is the term used to mean "folktale", by people of the Louis Trichardt and Letaba districts. To relate a tale is **kutshéketa** or **kuthyéketa**, the latter being used in the Letaba region, or **Kugaringeta nthyeketo**. The terms used by P.E.A. Tsonga and Ronga people were unknown to my Transvaal informants, but two of them had seen them in books. My informant from Louis Trichardt district used as formula to introduce folk-

tales **Garingana wagaringana**, which is answered by **Garingana**. In the Letaba region the slightly variant form, **Garingana wagaringa**, with answer **Garinga**, is usually preferred.¹ When starting a tale it is usual to say from whom one has heard it. At the end of the tale the narrator says **tshu** or **tshu choyoyo**. My informant from Letaba used **tshu choyoyo** rather than **tshu** alone. **Tshu garingana** is not used. **Tshu** is cognate with **kutshuta** (to spit); the narrator spits on the ground when he has finished his story, and then says the final formula.

Folktales are usually related by women, and only at night, usually after the evening meal. It is taboo (**Swayila**) to relate folktales during the day. If a child tells a tale during the day, he will be told that his parents might die if he does such a thing. My informant from the Letaba region said that he did not know what the threat to a child telling tales during the day might be, as he has never heard of any child doing such a thing.

3.0. RIDDLES.

3.1.1. One term only is used in the P.E.A. Tsonga dialects to mean "riddle", namely **xitekatekana** (cl. 7; pl. **switekatekana**, cl. 8). In Ronga the word **xitekatekisana** is used. Although some Tsonga people were heard also to use the word **xitekatekisana**, all informants were emphatic that **xitekatekisana** is Ronga, not Tsonga. The Ronga and the Djonga informants questioned both said that **xitekatekisana** is Ronga, and further volunteered that **xitekatekana** was the Tsonga equivalent. **Kutekatekana** and **kutekatekisana**, respectively, are the Tsonga and Ronga terms meaning "to ask riddles".

None of my informants from the Northern Transvaal knew the terms **xitekatekana** and **xitekatekisana**. One, from the Letaba region, used the term **nchayito** (cl. 3; pl. **minchayito**, cl. 4) for "riddle", but the Louis Trichardt informant did not know this term. He seemed to confuse riddles and proverbs. He recognized that they have

¹**Garinga** or **garingana** is used at the beginning of the tale or right through its narration, as the narrator prefers.

entirely different functions, the one expressing a precept, the other being a game, but he used the term **xivuriso** for both.

3.1.2. The answer to some Tsonga and Ronga riddles consists of one word only, possibly two words if the question describes two objects or situations, e.g.,

Q: **Nhonga yamulamula nimakhu-ku mambirhi.** (A stick of the mulamula tree with two knots)

A: **Intombi** (It is a girl) [P.E.A. Tsonga]

Q: **Ndzivonile murisi wopshwuka arisa tihomu tobasa-ntse** (I have seen a red shepherd herding completely white cattle)

A: **Iririmi nimatinyo** (It is the tongue and the teeth) [P.E.A. Tsonga]

In Tsonga and Ronga there is a very large number of riddles whose answers consist of several words, usually fairly long sentences, e.g.,¹

Q: **Xikomu xikulu matumbeta hubyeni** (One hides a big hoe in court)

A: **Vurhena byikulu malwela hubyeni** (One struggles as hard as one can in court)

Q: **Ndzibe nsokoti hixigombo** (I struck the ant with a club)

A: **Ndzidye swawena hivurhena** (I have robbed you by violence)

Although two types of riddles may exist, those with a one-word or possibly a two-word answer, and those with an answer consisting of a whole sentence, one name only was found to be given to all riddles, irrespective of the structure of their answer. This was found to be the case with all informants questioned.

3.1.3. In *The Life of a South African Tribe*, H. A. Junod, and in *Vuthari bya Vatsonga (Machangana)*, H. P. Junod and A. A. Jaques imply that **mhumbhana** is a riddle with a one-word type of answer, and **xitekatekisana** a riddle with a sentence as answer. All P.E.A. Tsonga speakers questioned affirmed that **mhumbhana** was a Ronga term, and the informants from the Northern Transvaal questioned did not know

the word at all. **Mhumbhana** is undoubtedly a Ronga term, and is recognized as such by Djonga and Ronga informants. However, this word does not refer to riddles, but to what H. A. Junod, in *The Life of a Bantu Tribe*, II, p. 160, has called the "charcoal game". (For this term see paragraph 5.0. below). In the foreword to the section on riddles in the new edition of *Vuthari bya Vatsonga (Machangana)*, H. P. Junod recognizes that the word **mhumbhana** refers to the "charcoal game", and that it is a Ronga word, but nevertheless uses it in reference to riddles. Although both the "charcoal game" and riddles are evening pastimes, they should not be confused, for the Tsonga and Ronga speakers do not confuse them and do not refer to them by the same term.

3.2.1. Among the Tsonga people of P.E.A., no special formula was found to be used to introduce the riddle, as is the case among many other Bantu peoples. **Teka, teka, teka** is often used before the question of the riddle is asked. For the next riddle **Teka, teka, teka** may well be omitted. "

3.2.2. The Ronga use **Teka, teka, teka** at the beginning of the game of riddle-asking. It may be omitted however, even before the first riddle is asked. This formula is usually used between riddles, when the person who is questioning is temporarily stuck and wants to gain time. He says **Teka, teka teka**, while he thinks of another riddle to ask.

3.2.3. Another formula sometimes used in Tsonga is **Tsheke, tsheke**. However I found no P.E.A. informant who used it, although several had heard it. One suggested that the term was in connection with riddles whose answer is a number of meaningless syllables which constitute merely a jingle which balances rhythmically with the question; or for riddles whose answers are numerous and have to be learnt by heart as the question is not clear. Another informant suggested that this formula was used "in the north" (possibly by the Tshwa people?).

3.2.4. Although riddles may be played by two people, children prefer to play with several participants as this makes the game

¹From *Vuthari Bya Vatsonga (Machangana)*, 2nd ed.

more interesting. They group themselves into two teams. One child in team A asks riddles, and the children of team B answer. This goes on until the child who started knows no more riddles, when it becomes the turn of one of the other team to ask. The same grouping and the same procedure are adopted by Ronga and also by N. Transvaal children.

4.0. PROVERBS.

4.1. In the P.E.A. and N. Transvaal Tsonga dialects a proverb is called **xivuriso** (cl. 7; pl. **swivuriso**, cl. 8), whereas in Ronga it is called **xihlayahlaya** (cl. 7; pl. **swihlayahlaya**, cl. 8).

Two expressions are used by the P.E.A. Tsonga to mean "to quote a proverb": some speakers say **kuvula xivuriso** (lit. to say a proverb), others say **kuvurisa**. This infinitive, structurally, is a causative from **kuvula** (to say). Literally, **kuvurisa** means "to say well or wisely, to say completely". For instance the expression **Uvurisile** (lit. You have said completely), means "You have expressed the truth, you have spoken wisely". So **kuvurisa**, in connection with proverbs, means "to express the truth fully and well". **Xivuriso** (proverb) is the noun derived from the verbal radical **-vuris-**. Therefore one can interpret **xivuriso** as "a statement full of truth and wisdom".

Some P.E.A. Tsonga informants who use the expression **kuvula xivuriso** rejected the form **kuvurisa**, whereas other people never say **kuvula xivuriso**. N. Transvaal Tsonga speakers say **Kuvula xivuriso**.

There is no particular formula to introduce a proverb. Proverbs belong to the everyday conversation. When someone wants to prove or strengthen his or her point, he says: **Vakhale vate**. . . (The old people said. . .), or **Vakhale vavurisile loko vari**. . . (The old people spoke the truth when they said. . .), and the proverb is quoted.

5.0. THE "CHARCOAL GAME".

5.1. **Mhumhana** is a Ronga word referring to what H. A. Junod has called the "charcoal game". This is a game of "guess-which-hand". Children group themselves into two teams. The children of team A hide in the hand of one of their members a very small object such as a fruit pip. Each in turn of the children of team B points at the hand in group A where he thinks the object is hidden. When the hidden object is found, the children of team B hide the object. If all the children of team B have had a turn at guessing, and yet have not found the hidden object, it is shown to them, and team A again hides the object.

These days, the object to be hidden does not necessarily have to be a piece of charcoal, although this was possibly the case when H. A. Junod described the game and gave it the name "charcoal game". Although this also is an evening pastime, it is completely distinct from the game of riddles, and the terms **mhumhana** (Ronga), **xiphamuphamu** (P.E.A. Tsonga) and **nchemama** (Louis Trichardt) are not applicable at all to riddles, whatever the structure of their answers might be.

SUMMARY:

From research carried out to date, the following folkloristic terms have been recorded among the Tsonga and Ronga people:¹

ENGLISH	P.E.A. TSONGA	RONGA	N. TVL. TSONGA
folktale	xihitana nsungu karingana	xihitana nsungu	ntsheketo
to relate a folk- tale	kucha xihitana (or nsungu, or karingana)	kutha xihitana (or nsungu)	kutsheketa
folktale <i>touches on/deals with</i>	kukhumba	kukhumba	kukhumba
initial formula	Karingana waka- ringa, or Vakwe- za, vakweza	Karingana wa- karingana	garingana wagari- ngana or garingana wagaringa
final formula	phu karingana or thu karingana	thu karingana	tshu or tshu cho- yoyo
riddle	xitekatekana	xitekatekisana	nchayito
to ask a riddle	kutekatekana	kutekatekisana	
formula	teka, teka, teka	teka, teka, teka	
'charcoal game'	xiphamuphamu	mhumhana	nchema
proverb	zivuriso	xihlayahlaya	xivuriso
to quote a proverb	kuvula xivuriso or kuvurisa		kuvula xivuriso

¹Not all dialects have been checked as yet, so that some commonly used term has perhaps been omitted.

THE ANCESTOR OF TSWANA GRAMMARS

A. SANDILANDS

SYNOPSIS

A mysterious handwritten copy of one of the earliest grammars of a Bantu language lies, almost unknown, in the National Library in Cape Town. This work, on the Tswana language, was written by Isaac Hughes (1789—1870) of the L.M.S., who started his missionary career as a blacksmith at Griquatown in 1824. This study of Tswana grammatical structure shows him to have been a man of logical mind and considerable ability in the linguistic studies of his day. His work on the language, and the help he gave to the American missionaries Lindley, Wilson and Venables, who stayed at Griquatown in 1835, are recorded in Edwin Smith's recent life of Daniel Lindley.

The MS copy has a double interest today. In the first place, it is valuable, and fascinating, just as a grammar. It takes cognizance of pitch or tone of syllables, and even uses marks to indicate them; it refers to the "euphonic concord", and lists eleven noun classes. In the second place, it is a linguistic "Whodunit?". How did it come that pioneer work of this calibre was, in its own time, unknown to most other workers in the same field? Why was it not printed, and how did it fall into oblivion? Who made the present un-named copy, when did he make it, and what is its history?

The earliest Tswana grammar worthy of that name lies, almost entirely unknown, in the National Library at Cape Town. It was apparently compiled gradually, between 1828 and 1858, by Isaac Hughes, a missionary of the L.M.S. There is an inadequate and rather misleading reference to it in the preface to Professor D. T. Cole's *Introduction to Tswana Grammar* (p. xxiv), where it is stated that "Livingstone incidentally refers to the Rev. Mr. Hughes as being engaged upon the preparation of a larger grammar of Tswana at this time, but it has not been published; the manuscript is in the Grey Library, Cape Town."

Before describing the book, it is necessary to put Hughes's work in its historic setting and see it in its true perspective by taking a glance at the middle half of the eighteenth century.

This was a period of considerable activity in language study, in translation and printing, particularly by what might be called the "Kuruman School". Isaac Hughes himself mentions finding printed fragments of the Lord's Prayer in Tswana at Griqua Town in 1824, which means that they had been printed somewhere (not at Kuruman certainly) some time before that. A thousand catechisms and a like number of spelling books in Tswana had been printed in London and sent

out to Kuruman in 1826—27; the manuscript of them, sent to the Cape for printing in 1825, had somehow been misdirected to London. In 1829 the Gospel of Luke had been translated, and Hamilton was in charge of the local school. In 1830 Moffat is "at present engaged revising the Gospel of Luke . . . he also has a selection of passages of scripture, hymns, spelling books, etc., and hopes, in his intended visit to the Colony, to get some or all of these printed." "Luke" was printed on a visit to Cape Town in 1830, on the government's press; and on their return to Kuruman, Moffat and Edwards took back a press and type, paper and ink. This press did yeoman service for fifty years, and is now in Kimberley Library; it was superseded in 1882 by another steel hand press, which is actually still in use. The following very inadequate sketch of Kuruman literature is based on the few books, only about 50, which have survived in libraries and archives.

In 1831 appeared the first hymn-book, *Lihela*, with 50 of Moffat's hymns; in 1840—41 a series of small illustrated tracts and stories, at least 13 of them. 1848 saw the appearance of Moffat's translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, with illustrations. Ashton in 1850 printed his translation of O.T. stories, *Kaelo mo kaelon*, 366 pp. and illustrations. In 1862 a *Geografe* was printed, and in 1867

an Arithmetic by Roger Price. John Mackenzie makes his bow as translator with *Tla go Yesu* in 1863, only 5 years after his arrival. In 1857 a monthly paper started and ran for some years; its place was taken by a better magazine, *Mahoko a Becwana*, 1883—1896. Wookey appears in 1884 with a commentary on Matthew's gospel, and Price got out *Bonyana yoa Lobopo* in 1885. School books of different sorts appeared many times after the 1826 spelling book; but not unnaturally most of them have disappeared. The hymn-book which started in 1831 with 50 hymns, grew through successive increments and supplements (1835, 1838, 1843, 1866(2), 1870, 1873, 1882, 1883, 1885), to some 450 hymns by the end of the century, from some 15 writers.

But the main activity was in Bible translation; and there was never any resting on laurels. Portions, gospels, the N.T., selections from O.T., and catechisms, appeared one after the other, in 1826, 1830, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1840 (whole N.T.), 1841, 1848, 1850, 1853, 1854, 1857 (final volume of O.T.), 1864 (new orthography), 1867 (a revised N.T.). By 1870 an orthography controversy was raging (!), and Prices's version (the third) of the N.T. was not printed, so keen were the differences of opinion about it.

Now Isaac Hughes (1789—1870) was one of a party of three missionaries who were sent out by the L.M.S. in 1823, arriving at Cape Town on the 30th of December. Moffat was then at the Cape, and in March Hughes and his wife travelled up with him, arriving at Kuruman on the 4th of May, 1824. Hughes really joined the mission as a blacksmith; but apparently he was soon doing an increasing amount of the church and school work, and a number of years later he was ordained. From 1827 till 1839 he was stationed at Griqua Town. The constant alarms and excursions of the uneasy years just previous to his settling at Griqua Town are reflected in the Moffat letters contained in the Oppenheimer series volume *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, and in Moffat's own book *Missionary Labours*, Chapter XXVI. But the frequent trekking, the absence of any long periods of settled life, and the hourly con-

tact with Africans on all sorts of practical matters, certainly seems to have helped, rather than hindered, the knowledge of Tswana which these early missionaries obtained. It was perforce a highly utilitarian sort of knowledge; yet, at the same time, it was fast becoming more theoretical and more literary. Isaac Hughes was all his life within the Kuruman orbit, with the currents of thought and work of that centre flowing round him. In a letter (L.M.S. archives) of Hughes's of 1828, he mentions being engaged on language studies in a systematic way; and there is evidence that he continued such studies and writing for many years. It would appear that a significant impetus was given to his language work by the visit of the American missionaries (the Wilsons, the Venables and the Lindleys), who arrived in Griqua Town on their way to the north-east, in May 1835, and who stayed there till January 1836. On December 28th 1835 Daniel Lindley wrote,

"Mr Hughes of this place was pleased to make himself exceedingly useful to us by preparing a grammar of the Sichuana language, which had never been done before, and by enabling us to make a vocabulary containing between two and three thousand words, which is also a new work, the first and therefore the best, of its kind. This kind brother has sat many a long hour with a company of Bechuanas to help him in giving us the meaning of Sichuana words. But the grammar he prepared for us is far the most important we have received." (p. 81, *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley*, by Dr E. W. Smith, 1949).

What is a little strange in this is the quite definite impression it leaves that Hughes wrote his grammar book there and then for the benefit of his guests; whereas it appears that he had been engaged in writing down his language findings for at least eight years. Indeed, if he had a natural bent for language, as he seems to have had, he could hardly have done otherwise, with the example of his senior colleague Moffat always before him. It is of course possible that Lindley, very new to everything, had not fully understood this;

or it may be that his words do not necessarily mean what they seem to say. But what is highly probable is that the presence of young missionaries, eager to learn the African language, would act as a great stimulus to Hughes, and encourage him to put his mass of notes and observations into a systematic form which he could use to teach others. He had by this time been some twelve years in Africa; and the preface to the much later form of his grammar book (probably 1859) states clearly that its "outlines" were written in 1834.

In connection with the increasingly grammatical approach to Tswana of these early days, a further remark of Daniel Lindley's is very significant. He wrote that "a paradigm of a Sichuana verb, when fully written out, is little less in size than a map of the United States." (*Lindley*, p. 81) What size, exactly, Lindley means by that, we do not know; but he evidently means *some* size! And that must have been Isaac Hughes's paradigm, or one constructed from his data. In Robert Moffat's family too, serious study was afoot within a few years of this. His young son Robert was no mean scholar, and after his early death (in 1860?) his brother John Moffat edited and published Robert's researches under the title "*The Standard-Alphabet Problem: or, The Preliminary Subject of a General Phonic System. Considered on the basis of some important facts in the Sechuana language of South Africa, and in reference to the views of Professors Lepsius, Max Muller, and others. A contribution to Phonetic Philology.*" By Robert Moffat, Jun., Surveyor, Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society. London, Trubner and Coy., Paternoster Row; South Africa, J. C. Juta, Cape Town; J. O. Browne, Natal. 1864." This small book shows the writer as a serious and original student of the language, and of its orthographic problems; taking note of the best scientific work of his day, but often differing from the conclusions of Lepsius and others.

It is evident that Hughes's work preceded James Archbell's very slight and second-hand sketch of Sechuana grammar by several years; but unfortunately it was not pub-

lished. It must have been known to, and probably circulated among, the missionaries of the time; but, long before the days of typewriters, it was extremely difficult to make copies of a manuscript. It is most unfortunate, one of the ironic vagaries of history, that Archbell's insignificant little book should have been preserved to come down to us as "the first Sechuana grammar", when Hughes's infinitely more important and prior work fell immediately into oblivion.

The course of Isaac Hughes's grammar—in its growth, its use by others, the question of printing, and what happened to it in and after 1858—is shrouded in mystery. The *copy* of the latest revised form which is still preserved in Cape Town, is headed thus: "No. 280d. *Sechuana Grammar.* By the Rev. I. Hughes, Griqua Town. Copied from a Manuscript belonging to Sir George Grey, K.C.B.; for the late Right Reverend Bishop Mackenzie, D.D. Presented by George Frere." And that is all that is known of it. The word "late", in that heading, proves that the heading was added when the manuscript was given to the Library; it could not have been so headed when Bishop Mackenzie owned it, or when it was made for him. George Frere (a letter from Mr A. M. L. Robinson, of the National Library, is the authority) was Her Majesty's Commissioner on the mixed British and Portuguese Commission at that time; perhaps he rescued it from Mackenzie's effects. But how exactly it came into his possession, when he gave it to the Library, who made the copy in the first place (there are *two* quite different hands at work), and why the original, from which this copy was made, disappeared—these are unsolved riddles to this day. Tragic as it is, however, that the original book has disappeared, it would have been a greater tragedy still if this curiously-preserved and historic copy had also been lost.

It seems pretty certain that the grammar never actually got printed. Mr Robinson says, "The original Ms. from which this copy was made is listed in Bleek's *Catalogue of the Library of Sir George Grey: Philology*, Vol. 1, Part II, p. 260: 'Addenda. Se-hlapi dialect; no. 280d. under title *Rudiments of a*

Sechuana Grammar, by I. Hughes, Griquatown. 4to., pp. x (besides title-page) and 182, with 'A Tabular of the Noun formations'. This original cannot now be traced. Bishop Charles Frederick Mackenzie, for whom the copy was made, was consecrated missionary bishop of Central Africa on January 31st 1861, and died of fever in Central Africa on January 31st 1862. From this it would seem probable that the copy can be dated 1861. On his voyage to the Cape in 1860 Mackenzie wrote, 'We have been studying Sechuana, without previous knowledge, without dictionary and almost without grammar. The sketch which Livingstone left behind him, and of which Murray the publisher sent me a copy as a present, was not a grammar. Our mainstay was Moffat's Bible and a concordance.'

The preface to this fascinating and mysterious copy begins as follows. "The outlines of the following Grammar of the Sechuana language of South Africa were written in 1834. In 1835 they were put into the hands of the American missionaries then at Griqua Town, on their way to the interior to commence a mission station at Kurreechuane in Bahurutse land for the Bahurutse, Bechuana." (The hand-written copy employs the "fs" of the period for double "s"—e.g., "mifision station"—but I have here substituted the modern spelling.)

The preface proceeds, "The writer had then been some ten years in the country north of the great Orange River, as assistant missionary to his predecessors Rev. R. Moffat and Rev. P. Wright of Griqua Town. The writer's knowledge of Sechuana was of necessity in those years drawn from his daily contact with the natives. But when books began to be issued from the press at Kuruman, he of course availed himself of their aid to compare his views with those of other friends at work on the subject, and to remind himself of points that might otherwise have escaped his notice or his memory. The fact that the Sechuana of this grammar and that of the printed books so perfectly agree, though by different persons and through different channels, shows the source to be one, and the results in both correct. Of course, this grammar is written for foreigners,

and hence the writer has kept to the usual grammatical terms of European grammar as far as the peculiarities of the Sechuana would allow. The natives as yet need no such help, for, as Dr Livingstone has remarked, the very children playing in the streets of Bechuana towns, speak grammatically. . . "

This preface runs, in my typing, to three and a half pages of single-space foolscap, so is too long to quote here. Much of it is interesting, and shows a serious and responsible approach to the language, on the part of a man with a logical and well-informed mind. That what we are reading is Hughes's preface to final revision, many years after the "outlines" were written in 1834, is clear from his referring his readers (rather than cover the ground again himself) to other published books: to *Cyclopaedia* (Penny), under "Bechuana"; to Rev. Appleyard's *Kafir Grammar*; to *Basouto Grammar* by Rev. Casalis (Eugene Casalis, 1841); to *Missionary Labours* (R. Moffat, 1842); but also to "various publications of gentlemen who have visited the country . . . from Burchell upwards to the late work of Rev. Dr Livingstone as missionary explorer of the country from the Orange River northwards to the great Zambezi" (London, 1857); "I must also mention the Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Philology, Vol. 1, by H. L. Bleek, 1858." (The last two references are very interesting; unless (which is not impossible) they were added by the copyist, this version of the grammar cannot have been finalized before some time in 1858 at the very earliest. And since it is extremely unlikely that the copy would have been made after Bishop Mackenzie left Cape Town for Central Africa in 1861, we get 1859—plus or minus some months—as the almost certain date of Hughes's grammar).

The writer then touches upon the origin and meaning of the terms "Bechuana" and "Batlaping", and goes on to say, "The language itself is a vast and elegant structure . . . it must have grown up to its present comparative perfection in a much better country and a more civilized people, than the Bechuana can now boast of." He draws attention to certain peculiarities: "the euph-

ony of its sentences, the verbal origin of most of its words, its elegant noun formations, and last but not least, its wonderful verbal augmentations." He mentions "the reiteration of certain pronominal particles through a long sentence, which we here call Euphonic concords", and says later that the noun formations will be found very interesting: "by inspection they all seem simple and regular, but the question occurs again and again, 'Whence came such a system?'" and he diverges to trace a possible derivation from the Nile valley. He says, in connection with his choice of the "Setlapeng" dialect, "Having an acknowledged standard of the language in any one of its dialects, it will be easy to point out other dialectic variations. I think Dr. Livingstone has somewhere in his book given us his opinion that the Setlapeng dialect is the most developed type of the Sechuana, and that the Sechuana is the most developed of the South African languages. . . . I think the perusal of this grammar, and a like study of the Sechuana Bible lately printed at Kuruman, will bring the reader to the same opinion. . . . I have endeavoured to keep to the spelling system now established by the Kuruman press; I think that the best hitherto offered to the Bechuanas."

As for the *Grammar* itself, it is impossible to give more than the merest hints of its contents. It notices not only stress, but "pitch or tone", and the "intonation of letters", and actually shows a simple marking of high and low tones. It lists and explains "common, derived, proper, and affinitive nouns", "euphonic concord" and "concordic servile pronouns", and gives eleven noun formations (i.e., classes). It has its "suppositives" and "confirmatives", and eight "degrees of verb stem augmentatives". In a word, the manuscript proves that the writer, exactly like present-day pundits, invented his own new terms for features of the language that did not run into any of his given European moulds. As to the book's scope, there is not a great deal of what might be called "basic Tswana grammar", which does not appear, at least in embryo, in this treatise of Hughes's of 1859.

Being therefore so much more serious and comprehensive and deep-going than anything in Archbell, or Fredoux, or Casalis, how is it that no one knew anything about it? It is most astonishing in the case of Fredoux (his 12-page little sketch was published in Cape Town in 1864), for it is difficult to see how he could not have heard of Hughes's work. Crisp knew nothing of it, it would seem; nor even Wookey, of the same Society (but much later). There may be several factors which all contributed their quota to the mystery. We do know that there were several other workers than the L.M.S. ones, in other parts of the Tswana field, at this time, and we know that there was considerable jealousy, in some quarters, of Moffat and Kuruman and its successful press. Some of the hostility was not of a very creditable nature. This might, to some extent, account for L.M.S. missionaries keeping Hughes's *Grammar* to themselves; or, if it was known to the rival groups, it might account for their wilful ignoring of it. There were also strained relations between L.M.S. missionaries themselves at times. The history of the times, and the geography of the land, complete the picture. The few and scattered missionaries of those days had but slow and difficult means of communication; they lived long periods without seeing each other, and their isolation tended to accentuate their differences and fan their disagreements. All those same causes operated to prevent the various Societies of Churches in the field from pooling their knowledge and their resources.

Isaac Hughes's book is one more proof of the vital significance of that central period of the eighteenth century in the story of African language development. Just as Livingstone's comparative lists of words from eight distinct Bantu languages was some years earlier than Wilhelm H. I. Bleek's *Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages* (1862 and 1869), and preceded the massive work of Sir Harry Johnstone (who did not know of Livingstone's lists of words, by some seventy years; as young Moffat's study of the phonetic aspects of a Bantu language a century ago adumbrated the phonetic and tonetic approach of modern

University linguists; so in the same way Hughes's vocabulary of "between 2000 and 3000 words" of 1836 was the precursor of John Brown's Dictionary—only about twice the length—of 1867. And his *Rudiments of*

a Sechuana Grammar of 1859, its 242 manuscript pages still lying in Cape Town awaiting a tardy recognition, anticipates by thirty important years the work of William Crisp, and, by nearly fifty years, that of A. J. Wookey.

REPORTS FROM TWO INSTITUTES OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

Grahamstown: In his annual report for the year ended 31 October 1957, Mr E. T. Sherwood, Secretary and Senior Research Fellow of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, records the very considerable progress made since the inception of the Institute at the end of 1954. The research activities under the aegis of the Institute now include a comprehensive survey of the Border Region; an investigation into African education in the Eastern Cape; a study of Swazi personality in relation to the assimilation of Western culture; a farm labour survey; and an anthropological investigation of Christianity among Africans. The Institute is also engaged in collecting a research library on the economic development of Africa. Plans for the following investigations are in an advanced stage: A comparative psycho-anthropological study of English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking and African families; A survey of a peri-urban community; A preliminary economic investigation of the Port Elizabeth industrial area; A study of changing systems of morality among the Xhosa; An economic study of the Eastern Cape pineapple industry. The general impression one gains from the report is that the Institute is succeeding in its aim of coordinating human and financial resources available for social and economic research in the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei regions. Although the Institute's Board of Management is a Committee of the Senate of Rhodes University, it has established effective collaboration with other institutions in its area of operation, such as the University

College of Fort Hare and the Buffalo Catchment Association. The Institute's financial support comes from eight organizations, the largest amounts being contributed by the National Council for Social Research, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Nuffield Foundation.

Ibadan: In his annual report for the year ended 31 March 1958, the Director of the Nigerian (formerly West African) Institute of Social and Economic Research reports that a constitution approved by the Council of the University College, Ibadan, provides for the Institute's recent change of name and for an Advisory Board on which are represented the Federal Government of Nigeria and the University College (about equally), the Colonial Social Science Research Council and the local business community. The Institute is financed by equal contributions from the Federal Government and the C.S.S.R.C. The Institute's research staff includes anthropologists, economists, a linguist and a social historian; and its recent research has included investigations of marriage stability in the Southern Cameroons; of the Bakweri and Ibo languages; of reactions to Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation programmes; of the effects of development plans on Nigeria's Far Eastern trade; and of petty trading in Lagos. The Institute tries to keep in touch with all persons engaged in social and economic research in Nigeria, and has afforded facilities and assistance to a large number of visiting scholars.

M.G.M.

THE BLOOD PACT IN BUNYORO

J. H. M. BEATTIE*

SYNOPSIS

The Nyoro of Uganda had the institution of the blood pact, which could only be entered into by men of different clans. Participation in it involved a ceremonial exchange of blood, and implied reciprocal obligations of mutual aid and hospitality, a breach of which involved danger and perhaps death for the guilty party. The pact did not necessarily imply equality (in fact the supplicant partner ipso facto assumed a slightly inferior status), and it could traditionally be made between princes or chiefs and commoners. It is represented in myth as a means of establishing peaceful relations with foreign and potentially dangerous powers, and it was so utilized by Nyoro rulers when Europeans first appeared in the country in the last century.

I

Since Roscoe's brief account of Nyoro 'blood-brotherhood' in *The Bakitara*, and Tegnaeus's paragraph on the subject (mostly a transcription from Roscoe) in his recent study,¹ scarcely provide an adequate account of the nature and significance of the pact in Bunyoro, one of the interlacustrine kingdoms of Uganda, the following notes may be of interest.

As in Ankole,² the pact is called **mukago**,³ and the ceremony of entering into it is called **kunywana**. **Kunywana** means 'drinking with one another', or rather 'inter-drinking'; this reciprocal form of the verb implies a closer mutual participation than merely 'drinking together', which Banyoro would translate '**kunywa hamu**', literally 'drinking in the same place'. The parties to the pact are called **banywani** (singular **muniywani**). I shall in what follows consider first how **mukago** is initiated and contracted, secondly, how it is regarded and, thirdly, its traditional social significance.

The pact is made only between men, and only between men of different clans. If two men are already close friends and if their near agnates, who will also be bound by the pact, agree, one (called **rusaba mukago**,

'he who requests **mukago**'—I shall call him the supplicant) may approach the other and ask him if he will enter into the pact with him. Formerly a young man might have approached the household head of the group with which he wished to associate himself. He would then say to his host 'I want you to give me a wife', or perhaps 'I want to be a clansman in this house'.⁴ This latter phrase is one of those in which a man who wishes to marry, addresses his prospective father-in-law. If the household head is much senior to the supplicant he may arrange for him to carry out the rite with his son or his brother's son. Again, a man might wish his son to make the pact with another, perhaps a son of his own blood partner, and he would then make the initial approaches on his son's behalf.

A day is then agreed upon for the ceremony. It takes place at dawn, at the house of the person who has been asked to make the pact. Neither party may eat, drink, wash or smoke during the previous night. The fire in the host's hearth must not be allowed to go out all night. The things which will be needed are prepared and set out by the doorway of the house by an old woman of the household. She may (though she need not) be the household head's mother

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¹Roscoe (1923), pp. 45—6; Tegnaeus (1952), pp. 88—9.

²Cf. Williams (1934) for a very full account of the ceremony and its implications among the pastoral Hima of Ankole.

³Or **omukago**. I have omitted initial vowels here and elsewhere.

⁴**Ningonza ompe omukazi**, and **Ningonza mbe munyaruganda omu nju munu**. These phrases are given by Karubanga (1949), who gives a good account in Nyoro of the ceremony.

or sister, and she and two men of the host's family will be formal witnesses. Lemon-grass (**tete**) is spread on the ground, and over this is laid a new barkcloth. Also needed are a handful of a special kind of grass called **jubwa**, and a little basket containing a small knife (**rumaiso**), a leafy twig of the barkcloth tree, **mutoma** (*Antiaris africana*), and a number of coffee beans (ideally nine, I was told; nine is a ritually auspicious number in many Nyoro cultural contexts). The old lady de-husks one of the beans, divides it into its two segments, and places these ready in the basket.

The two men then sit down facing each other on the barkcloth. The host looks towards the inside of his house; the supplicant faces outwards. Both are attired in barkcloth, the traditional apparel of the Nyoro. The supplicant partner takes the knife and makes a small incision near his navel; he then rubs his segment of the bean in the blood which emerges, till it is stained all over. His partner then does likewise, and each places his segment in the palm of his right hand and offers it to his partner, who takes it up with his lips and swallows it whole. It is said that if either party were to bite the bean or to fail to swallow it his cheeks would swell up. Nyoro stress that the proper way of making the pact is with a coffee berry; the two segments closely united in the same husk aptly represent the close bond supposed to subsist between **banywani**. Ordinary beans, of which there may be two or more in the same pod, may be used by children in play but would not be used in the real ceremony. If there is no coffee available small pellets of cold millet porridge (**buro**) may be used, and it is said that in the old days the cattle-owning Huma employed milk like the Nyankole.

After the exchange of blood each partner takes a leaf of the barkcloth twig and a wisp of the **jubwa** grass, and each brushes the other with this on the face, chest, arms and abdomen. Each also in turn seizes the other's right hand and taps it gently against his

stomach. The grass and leaves are then put back in the basket. After this the partners stand up, being careful in doing so not to place the palms of their hands on the ground, and each announces the name of his clan and that of his mother. A small present, traditionally nine cowry shells, latterly a few cents, is then given by the original supplicant to his partner, and these are put in the basket with the other things. The old lady who has supervised the proceedings then carefully puts away the basket and its contents, probably in the **ihangiro** or sacred place in the household head's compartment of the house.

While the partners are holding their bunches of grass and leaves, and while they are touching each other's stomach with their right hands, they may make certain joint affirmations in formal terms. The import of these is that they should take care not to put themselves in a position where they might have to fight one another, lest one kill the other, and also that they should share and help each other in everything. Finally both may swear in some such terms as these: 'Whoever deceives his partner his stomach will swell up. If I become ill you will not reject me. Even if I become a beggar you will not abandon me. You will not grudge me anything in your house. We shall never harm each other, nor shall our children, nor our fellow clansmen, do so'.⁵

After the ceremony the partners eat a meal together, consisting of **buro** (millet porridge, the traditional food of the Nyoro) and **mugobe**, a vegetable of high status. The host also makes a return present to his partner; if he owns cattle he might, it is said, give a calf or perhaps a bull, otherwise a goat or some smaller gift. But his new partner may not leave the house empty-handed.

Some days or even months later the host partner prepares a feast for his **munywani**, who has announced his intention of paying him a formal visit, accompanied by some kinsmen and friends. A goat is killed for the feast, beer is brewed and other food is pre-

⁵Aligobeza munywani we alizimba enda. Nobundiya ndwaire kubi tolimbiga. Nobundisega tolinaga. Tolinsingira kintu omunju. Titulikorrangana kubi itwe hamu n'abana baitu rundi n'aboruganda rwaitsu. This text is given in Karubanga (1949), p. 35.

pared. The guest partner does not come empty-handed either; it is said that in recent times he would bring a money present of five or ten shillings or more for his host. The feast goes on all night, and there is dancing and singing. After this the **mukago** is said to be confirmed; **gugumibwe**, literally 'it has been made hard'.

II

The blood pact in Bunyoro creates a bond of mutual aid and attachment between two men. Women cannot participate in it; for them, Nyoro say, to marry is the same thing as for men to enter into a blood pact. The comparison is significant, for just as marriage does not concern only the spouses but also brings two groups of agnates into a special kind of relationship with each other,⁶ so the blood pact binds not only the actual parties to it, but also theoretically at least, all their fellow clansmen.⁷ It will be remembered that a declaration of the name of one's clan (and of one's mother's clan) is an essential part of the formal procedure involved, and a man would ordinarily consult his close agnates before entering on a pact. It is significant, also, that a man may not make **mukago** with the same clan twice; if he were asked to do so he would refuse, naming the member of the supplicant's clan with whom he had formerly contracted.⁸ The sons of blood partners may enter into the pact with each other, however, thereby reinforcing a union already made. The analogy with marriage is also significant in implying that the pact is not thought of as creating any kind of consanguineous relationship like agnation. Nyoro sometimes say that the ties of **mukago** are analogous to, though stronger than, those of clanship, but this, as Evans-Pritchard has pointed out for the Azande, is because the kinds of mutual obligation which can exist between men in a traditional African

society are limited; it does not imply any similarity in the grounds of the association.⁹ Nyoro themselves make the point that members of the same clan may kill one another (though of course ordinarily they should not) without incurring fatal consequences, as members of the royal Babito clan have often done in accession wars, but a man may not kill or be accessory to the death of his blood partner on pain of ghostly vengeance. Again, while Nyoro clans are exogamous, marriage is often associated with or follows from the blood pact. It is thought to be a good thing to marry the daughter of a man with whom one has entered into the pact, and traditionally a man might even promise his unborn daughter to his blood partner or the latter's son. It is said that in the old days a man might refuse the suit of a prospective son-in-law if no **mukago** existed between the two clans.¹⁰

The obligations of a man to his blood partner include the duty to cherish and protect him, not to deceive him nor to do him any kind of injury and, especially, not to grudge him food or drink. Banyoro stress this last obligation; in Bunyoro as elsewhere in Africa close and friendly attachment between men is characteristically expressed in commensality. If a man has beer, or meat, edible grasshoppers, termites or any other favoured food in his house, and his blood partner visits him, the titbits must not be concealed, but have to be taken out and shared. If a man deceives his blood partner by such concealment, the blooded coffee berry which he swallowed when the pact was made will swell up in his abdomen and may kill him, unless he summons his offended partner, asks his forgiveness, and provides a feast for him. Some say that such an offender's stomach would swell up and burst, so that he died. If a man kills or is responsible for the death of his **munywani**, the latter's ghost will seek him out and destroy

⁶Cf. Beattie (1958).

⁷Since Nyoro clans are widely dispersed, evidently only those clan members who actually knew the participants (and were probably close agnates) would consider themselves bound by **mukago** entered into by one of their number.

⁸Cf. Karubanga (1949), p. 35.

⁹Evans-Pritchard (1933), p. 398.

¹⁰Thus Nyoro practice resembles that of Azande (Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 387), and differs from that of Ankole (Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

him. Roscoe's statement of the case is thus not quite correct¹¹: a breach of the obligations of the pact by one party would not be avenged 'by the ghosts acting on behalf of the other'; only if the breach led to the death of a partner would ghostly vengeance be incurred, and then the only ghost concerned would of course be that of the deceased partner.

III

The social advantages of the blood pact in the conditions which obtained in traditional times in Bunyoro, as elsewhere in Africa, are evident. Where the pact was made, as it generally was, between close friends and neighbours, it gave formal and permanent expression to an already existing bond, and so added to the partners' sense of security in and identity with the community they lived in. It might also, though less commonly, be made by a man who found himself among strangers, whether as a trader or as a warrior, and it would then provide him with friends and protectors in situations and regions in which (unless he had kinsmen there) he might be in danger. In such pacts the stress would be on mutual obligations and rights, and in this sense the statuses of the partners might be said to have been equal.

But there is in Bunyoro no notion, as apparently there is elsewhere, of the essential social equality of partners in the blood pact. The stress is on reciprocal obligation, not on equality, and in fact the pact could be made, and frequently was, between men who were in no sense equals, and who would never have considered themselves to be so. In socially stratified Bunyoro most institutionalized social relationships are seen as being essentially unequal; it is thought to be natural for some people to be 'above' others, and the bond of **mukago** in no way conflicts with this hierarchical structure. It might even be said, as has been suggested earlier, that like the prospective bridegroom in marriage negotiations, a person who asks

another for the pact thereby assumes a status slightly subordinate to his partner's.

Thus Bito could and did enter into the pact with non-Bito, and chiefs with certain of their dependants. Mutual benefit might be expected to accrue from such a contract, which was usually initiated by the partner of lower status. The latter might expect to gain increased protection and security through his relationship with a person of influence, and a chief would benefit by having a blood partner of lower status who would warn him of intrigues and dangers of which he might not otherwise become aware in time. It is unlikely that Bito would have entered into blood pacts with Iru of peasant status, but they could and no doubt did do so with commoner chiefs and palace officials. If a commoner who had exchanged blood with a Bito committed some serious offence against the Mukama, he would tell the Mukama that he had made the blood pact with Bito so-and-so. Then the Mukama would not have that man killed (since he was bound by the pact made by any of his agnates), but might, to quote an informant, 'have his eyes put out, and his ears and perhaps his hands cut off, or perhaps he might just be fined'.¹² Emin Pasha reported that Mukama Kabarega had entered into the pact with 'his cook and all his body servants'.¹³ According to Karubanga, however, the Mukama could only enter into a blood pact before his accession, that is, while he was still just an ordinary Bito, for 'as soon as he came to the throne he would not be able to swallow the blood of a **mwiru**'.¹⁴ It appears likely that the king's cooks and retainers would have made the pact with other Bito, perhaps closely related to the Mukama, rather than with the Mukama himself. This would engage them no less in **mukago** obligations towards the Mukama.

Nyoro myth and traditional history provide illustrations of the social and political significance attached to the pact. A familiar Nyoro story tells how Nyamiyonga ('he of the black smuts'), the king of the world

¹¹Roscoe (1923), p. 46.

¹²Cf. also Karubanga (1949), p. 35.

¹³Emin Pasha (1888), p. 77.

¹⁴Karubanga (1949), p. 35.

of ghosts (**Okuzimu**), sent an invitation, couched in the form of a riddle, to Mukama Isaza, the last of the legendary Tembuzi dynasty of Nyoro kings, asking him to make the blood pact with him. Isaza's chiefs advised him that he should not exchange blood with someone whom he had never seen. 'If he likes you, why does he not come so that you can see one another, make friends, talk together, and then exchange blood?'¹⁵ But it would have been a grave insult to refuse Nyamiyonga's invitation altogether, so Isaza called one of his councillors, a commoner called Bukuku (or Kwezi), and said to him 'I give you my **mukago**; make the pact with him on my behalf'.¹⁶ Thereupon Bukuku swallowed the blooded bean which Nyamiyonga had sent, and smeared his blood on the other segment and sent it back to Nyamiyonga. But after the latter had swallowed Bukuku's blood he discovered the deception and was very angry, not so much because Isaza had refused to exchange his own blood with him as because he had caused him, a king, to be united in the blood pact with a **mwiru**.¹⁷ Nyamiyonga eventually avenged himself by enticing Isaza into the world of ghosts, whence he never returned, thus losing his kingdom which was taken over, though only temporarily, by the commoner Bukuku. Another reference to the blood pact in Nyoro mythical history illustrates its employment as a safeguard against danger. A diviner named Nyakoko from Bukidi, north of the Nile, prophesied to the Cwezi, successor dynasty to the Tembuzi, their imminent departure and their replacement in Bunyoro by a Nilotic lineage from Bukidi. But before agreeing to divine Nyakoko (according to one story) demanded **mukago** from Wamara, the Cwezi king, and Wamara arranged for

him to exchange blood with his near agnate Mulindwa.¹⁸ It was just as well that he did for the Cwezi were naturally much displeased by his prophecy, and he was only saved from their revenge by the timely warning of his new blood partner.

Turning to historical times, early European travellers in Bunyoro, as in other parts of Africa, were often invited to make the blood pact with the paramount ruler or with other important persons. It seems that the native ruler was always the supplicant, evidently wishing to ally himself in the traditional way with the new and manifestly formidable power which the white men represented. Grant refers to the pact being concluded between one of his servants, a Nyamwezi cowherd, and a Nyoro 'official', but he does not say who initiated it.¹⁹ Speke reports that in October, 1862, king Kamurasi asked him to exchange blood with him: Speke refused.²⁰ Baker was less fastidious, and some years later exchanged blood with Ruyonga, the late king Kamurasi's half brother and rival, who was in revolt against Kamurasi's son and successor Kabarega in the north of the kingdom. For Ruyonga this was an astute move which would, he hoped, greatly strengthen his hand against Kabarega. Baker reports him as saying 'if the natives of this country, and also the Langgos and Umiros, shall hear that I have exchanged blood with the Pacha, they will have thorough confidence, but without this inviolable contract, they will always suspect some intrigue . . .' Ruyonga 'revelled with childish delight in the despair that would seize Kabba Rega and his chiefs when they should hear the news'.²¹ In the event his delight was premature, but Ruyonga's motive in seeking to make the pact with the redoubtable Baker and his companions is plain. The mode of

¹⁵Nyakatura (1947), p. 22.

¹⁶Nyakatura (1947), p. 22: **Nkuhaire omukago gwange, ogu onnywanirre**. It is difficult to render this last word accurately in English: the literal meaning is 'cause me to be made blood partner to him'.

¹⁷Bikunya (1927), p. 35: **Isaza onu muntu mubi okunyanisa nomuiru** (That Isaza is a bad man to have bound me in the blood pact with a mwiru!).

¹⁸Bikunya (1927), p. 35. Both these stories are recorded in detail in Fisher (1911), which is a very much more valuable source for Nyoro myth and traditional history than its title suggests.

¹⁹Grant (1864), p. 271.

²⁰Speke (1863), p. 535, quoted by Tegnaeus (1952), p. 89.

²¹Baker (1895), p. 403. Two other members of Baker's entourage also made **mukago** with two of Ruyonga's men.

performing the rite, as reported by Baker, was unorthodox (each is said to have sucked blood from an incision in the other's arm), but Nyoro agree that this would be effective, for the essence of the transaction is the physical exchange of blood.

The institution of the blood pact in Bunyoro no longer possesses any real importance. Many older men still have **banywani** with whom they contracted **mukago** in their youth, but nowadays it is rare for young men to make formal blood pacts with one another. This is of course inevitable, for in an increasingly (though as yet by no means wholly) individualized and bureaucratized state the social and political ends formerly served by the pact, where they are still sought, are met by other means. Older Nyoro regret this decline, and associate it with the general decline in Nyoro *mores* and political status since the coming of the Europeans. Thus Karubanga writes 'the rule of the Europeans has put an end to the blood pact. This has led to a decrease in friendship, and among most people has done away with the mutual trust which they used to have in one another'.²²

But although the institution is obsolete or practically so, the idiom of the blood pact survives in everyday life and speech. Men who are particularly close friends refer to one another and are referred to by others as **banywani**, even though they have never entered into any formal engagement. In most contexts the word might now be translated 'best friend'. But as a viable social institution **mukago**, like some other traditional Nyoro institutions, has failed to survive the social and political conditions to which it was most appropriate.

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²²Karubanga (1949), p. 36.

COMPARATIVE ASPECTS OF LUVALE FEMALE PUBERTY RITUAL

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SYNOPSIS

The Luvale female puberty ritual is examined against the comparative background of the Bemba rites, recently described by Dr A. Richards. The main contrasting features of Luvale and Bemba society are outlined. The sequences of events in the rites are then compared. The significance of the Luvale string games to take the place of the Bemba mbusa is of special note here. The interpretation of the Luvale ceremony is considered to bear out most of Richards's suggestions made from the Bemba ritual, except where differences in the structure of Luvale and Bemba societies produce variations. The paper then compares Luvale female and male puberty rites, and finds a close correspondence in their respective patterns. It is suggested that the parallelism of male and female rites in those tribes in which both occur should be examined on a wider comparative basis. Some additional data to supplement Richards's Appendix on chisungu ceremonies in Central Africa is furnished, and some examples of Luvale songs sung at the puberty rites are given.

An account of certain aspects of Luvale female puberty ritual has already been published (7) by one of the present writers. Attention was drawn there to the lack of sufficient data from any other Central African group to enable any useful comparison of rituals to be made. However Dr A. I. Richards has now published her account of the Bemba ritual (*Chisungu*. London, 1956). The present paper attempts to make some comparison of the Bemba and Luvale rituals, and to test some of Richards's hypotheses. It also describes more fully some aspects of the Luvale rites than was possible in the earlier account, which, as its title indicates, was specifically concerned with only certain aspects of the ritual. A fortunate combination of circumstances has enabled three of us to collaborate in the present paper.

CULTURAL COMPARISON

Richards presents her account of the Bemba *chisungu* against a background of the main features of Bemba culture. Both Bemba and Luvale are matrilineal societies, but there are many points of difference between them. The bibliography appended to our paper gives a list of accounts of various aspects of Luvale society; consequently we limit ourselves here to stressing certain resemblances and contrasts, with references to

the fuller sources of information, and follow the general order adopted by Richards (*op. cit.*, pp. 25—51).

The Luvale have a much less centralized political structure than the Bemba, and were never a military state. They were brought into commercial contacts with the Portuguese in Angola during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and flourished upon slave raiding against their neighbours, and bartering such commodities as beeswax, ivory and rubber for gunpowder, guns, cloth and beads. Apart from the commercialization of slaves, slavery itself played an important part in Luvale society (cf. (1) and (2)).

Luvale agriculture is somewhat more stable than that of the Bemba owing to the use of cassava as the staple crop, and as with many cassava-growing people, there is no annual food shortage such as is common among grain-growing tribes. Fishing and collecting have always been important features of Luvale economy (3).

We should hesitate to press too strongly a division of the Luvale environment between bush and village. In some activities a symbolic distinction is clear; it is sharply stressed in the male circumcision rites where the men are secluded in the bush, but within sound of the village. Nevertheless both men and women have a wide range of complemen-

tary activities in the bush or at rivers and pools which preclude making a contrast such as has been indicated for the Lele by Tew (in *African Worlds*). Luvale men and women have fishing activities partly peculiar to their sex, and partly carried out jointly by both sexes. The same applies to the collecting of animal protein; women move freely in the bush to collect caterpillars, wild fruit, mushrooms and forest produce. The Luvale do not regard the bush as a mysterious and dangerous environment. They do not equate trees (**mitondo**) automatically with medicine (**vitumbo**). Trees yield forest products of many kinds for everyday use, but medicines from the forest are normally believed to be useful because of their specific properties, and not because of some supernatural qualities. Matter may acquire magical properties by suitable processing (**kupanda**), and this of course may apply to vegetable matter; but processed matter acquires magical powers quite distinct from the direct properties of the ingredients. In Luvale female puberty ritual certain trees are regarded as symbolic of fertility, and their use in the ritual is regarded as conducive to the acquiring of fertility; but the combination of the ritual and the trees is required to attain this result, so that the trees have to be used within a specific framework of actions. Whilst not rejecting the distinction between bush and village in Luvale symbolism and life, we do not consider that the contrast can be regarded as anything like so defined as is apparently the case with the Bemba.

Unlike the Bemba, the Luvale have for the last twenty years developed important cash crops, notably ground nuts as the main export crop, and cassava sold to Barotseland to feed the starving Lozi. On account of these economic activities at home, the incidence of labour migration among the Luvale is low, and only some 20% of the able-bodied males are absent as labour migrants. Such demographic data as exists does not indicate an abnormally high infant or maternal mortality rate, but it is well known that for at least the last twenty-five years the Luvale birth rate has been extremely low.

Luvale concepts of ancestral spirits, malign

ancestral emanations, magic, witchcraft and sorcery present many general features similar to Bemba ideology and dogma (4) and (5). But beliefs in the magical influences of sex, blood and fire are much less marked than Richards describes for the Bemba. These elements deserve some individual comment.

(a) FIRE

Taboos on fire among the Luvale occur within rather limited situations; the youths at the circumcision rites must not touch fire lest their wounds fail to heal quickly, and also to avert sudden deaths in the village. For the girl at her puberty rites a prohibition on contact with fire is required to avoid constant or prolonged menstruation and to avert sudden deaths in the village. The girl is accompanied by a young female attendant (**kasambijikilo**) who must make fire or stoke the fire of the girl at puberty to enable this avoidance to be observed. Uncircumcised males should not have contact with or cook on the fires of the circumcised. A woman secluded in an enclosure (**chipango**) for the purpose of medication to assist conception must kindle her own fire, and not beg fire from others.

Fire is also in some contexts associated with life and its absence with coldness symbolic of death. Thus a horn of protective medicine or any divining apparatus should not be left in the dark, but should at nights be accompanied by the presence of fire, otherwise it will lose its power to avert the familiars of witches. There is no sacred fire of Luvale chiefs.

(b) SEX

The Luvale have no special ceremonies required to remove dangers believed to be inherent in sexual intercourse, nor do they have the marriage pot of the Bemba. A ban on sexual intercourse is enjoined on certain occasions. It is common at the inception of the circumcision rites, although here an alternative pattern with compulsory intercourse also occurs (6). Hunting, fish-poisoning, blacksmithing and sometimes the preparation of beeswax involve abstinence. The first intercourse of a male after the circumcision rites is important since it sym-

bolizes the attainment of adult status, and divests the youth of his childhood. He should never have further intercourse with the woman who provides this first intercourse. But for a girl at the end of the puberty rites there is no such observance. There is no Luvale counterpart to the Bemba "eating of the girl's **chisungu**". The Luvale believe that a difficult labour or death in child birth may be due to adultery on the part of a woman, but this is a very widespread African dogma. But the Luvale have no beliefs that adulterous males or females may pollute a family fire.

(c) BLOOD

The widespread belief that a menstruating woman should not kindle a cooking fire, cook on it for others, or draw water for others is found among the Luvale although much disregarded today by the younger generation. But the symbolism of blood among the Luvale is rather associated with life and fertility than with dangers inherent in it.

The red exudations of *Pterocarpus angolensis* (**mukula**) are believed to resemble menstrual blood, and are associated with both male and female fertility rituals. So too is red oxide. Menstrual blood again is an ingredient for the preparation of **mitungu** charms to avert the familiars of witches causing illness to a person, and thus have an association with the maintenance of life. In both male and female puberty rites the candidates are forbidden contact with sharp instruments which might cause the shedding of blood.

The Luvale thus do associate blood, sex and fire in various situations with magical attributes, but the circumstances are much more particularized than among the Bemba where Richards shows that these three elements interlock into a complex of attitudes and beliefs which are very pervasive in everyday life. For the Bemba the three elements combine to present constant dangers, for the Luvale they are associated with limited and specific dangers on certain occasions only. Luvale belief is markedly free from feelings of guilt and anxiety which are so strongly expressed in Bemba taboos.

In the field of social structure, the absence of a centralized political system is an important difference from the Bemba. Luvale chiefs came late, and never established a Luvale political state (2). Luvale chiefs are credited with certain powers to influence fertility, but do not play any such role in connection with female puberty rites. The Luvale, though matrilineal, practise virilocal marriage, traditionally closely integrated with the female puberty rites. Luvale bride-price has always been low, and the bridegroom is not required to perform any labour service to his wife's relatives. Thus the tensions in Luvale marriages are in many ways the reverse of those found among the Bemba. The Luvale woman spends her married life away from her own matrilineal relatives, in a village based upon a core of matrilineally linked males of her husband's kingroup (8). We consider that the independence, self-possession and social status of Luvale women is much higher than is the case with Bemba women. Apart from the effect of virilocal marriage in encouraging independence and self-possession, attention may be drawn to the frequency with which women inherit political positions as chiefs; the modern economic independence of women owing to their predominant role in producing the cash crop of ground-nuts which gives them their own incomes; their modern independence in declining to bear children if so inclined; and the freedom with which they mix socially with men. In ritual they occupy a position equal with men. The **mukanda** (circumcision rites of males) is regarded as balanced by the female puberty rites which are often called **mukanda** of the women. The male maturation rites and funerary society of **mungongi** has its female equivalent in **chiwila** (9). In the extensive rituals of exorcism of **mahamba** spirit possessions women occupy positions of greater importance than men. Luvale society is much less authoritarian than Bemba both politically and socially; in the social sphere stress is laid primarily upon adult status acquired through having passed the appropriate *rites de passage* which confer adult status on both males and females; adult status is far

more important than relative seniority based upon age.

The polarity of the sexes is of course widely expressed in Luvale society as it is in any other society, but male and female fields of activity overlap constantly in economic, political and ritual activities, rather than find realization in separate and exclusive forms. Thus the sharp contrast which Richards describes as the dilemma of a matrilineal society in which men are dominant but descent goes through women is much less marked among the Luvale than among the Bemba. The interrelationship of man and wife is much more marked in the form taken by Luvale female puberty ritual than in its Bemba counterpart owing to the important part played by the bridegroom in both initial and terminal stages of the ceremony. We suggest that the mystical relationship of man and wife which is stressed among the Bemba is in some measure replaced among the Luvale by the emphasis which the man plays in his wife's puberty rites in symbolizing the social consequences of the union. (7).

Richards remarks that Bemba princesses in positions of political authority are regarded as chiefs with feminine attributes, more gentle and less ruthless than male chiefs would be. Luvale female chiefs are regarded as equivalent to men, and in so far as Luvale chiefs wield authority, they are not expected to be less authoritarian than male chiefs. Moreover this attitude is to some extent projected into other women, and a Luvale woman who has decided to get rid of her husband will say **Nyakatolo asema lyehi** (Nyakatolo has given birth) i.e. there are plenty of other men in the world. The Luvale chieftainess Nyakatolo attained great power and prestige in the latter half of the century (2) through her position on the caravan routes, and many men came to depend upon her; so too men depend upon women for their existence in general, and women can afford to pick and choose.

COMPARISON OF THE CEREMONIES

In the previous discussion of the Luvale ceremonies (7), a threefold division was

adopted: initial stages, seclusion and coming out. Richards's account of the Bemba **chisungu** shows that this division can be used for comparative purposes, and it is accordingly followed here.

Initial Stages

In the Luvale ceremonies the bridegroom plays an important initial part. When the girl has reached the time for her invitation he and his friends and relatives build a hut at her village using branches of trees associated with fertility; he then partakes of a special meal in which he is required to avoid breaking the bones of the chicken which is part of it, lest he be regarded as likely to ill-treat his wife or cause her to miscarry; he also provides the girl with a blanket which she will wear during her period of seclusion, and which symbolizes his duty to clothe her. These features which stress the role of the bridegroom on the marriage to follow are absent from the Bemba **chisungu** where the girl is given an existing hut in the village in which to sleep. In the Luvale rites a young girl below the age of puberty is appointed as attendant upon the girl undergoing initiation; she is called **kasambi-jikilo** on account of her function as lighter and stoker of the girl's fire. In Richards's account there is no mention of such a girl attendant.

Points of resemblance between Bemba and Luvale rites are as follows: the blessing of the girl before the rites, calling upon the favour of the spirits of the ancestors; and the teasing of the girl by the instructress and women to remind her that she is now grown up, and must give up childish habits. In the following respects there are partial resemblances:—the girl is taken to a tree symbolic of fertility, in the Luvale rites in the morning before her hut is built, in the Bemba rites late in the afternoon after she has already made her ceremonial entry into her hut. The entry to the hut in the Bemba rites occurs in the afternoon accompanied by much celebration and dancing; in the Luvale rites it takes place at dusk without celebration. The Bemba rites include a hierarchy of elder women absent from the Luvale rites;

on the first day of the Bemba rites there is a ceremony described by Richards as the first jump of the girl; this is absent from the Luvale ritual.

The most important divergence between the two ceremonies is clearly in the role of the Luvale bridegroom; reference should be made to (7) for a longer description of this part of the ceremony.

The Period of Seclusion

Points of divergence and similarity between the Bemba and Luvale rites during this phase are numerous; a number of them are discussed below. It should be noted that even today the Luvale ritual is rarely of such short duration as the Bemba **chisungu** witnessed by Richards over twenty years ago.

(i) In the Luvale rites the onset of menstruation is accompanied by a strict taboo on eating or drinking, although the girl may take some sweet beer (**milava**). She is then given medicines to ensure an easy menstruation and the ban on eating is removed. This is termed **kumulakachisa**; at the same time the girl is given a variety of food plants which are symbolic of the fact that she can now eat as well as symbolizing her future role as a food producer. This is termed **kusumisa jimbuto** (biting the seeds). Finally when the menstrual period is over, the instructress is offered white clay by the relatives of the girl as a sign that the taint of menstrual blood has passed safely.

In the Bemba rites the festive porridge denoting the removal of food taboos was cooked on the eleventh day considerably later than in the Luvale rites. The ceremony of **kusumisa jimbuto** appears to have its counterpart in the Bemba baskets of food brought on the seventh day. In the Bemba ceremony a ceremonial marking of the girl with white clay occurred on the fourteenth day; in the Luvale rites any part of the girl's body not covered by her blanket is kept white-washed throughout the ceremony. The separate offering of white clay to the instructress is not mentioned in the account of the Bemba **chisungu**.

(ii) The emblems (**mbusa** of the Bemba rites).

Clay figurines, painted hut designs and mud figures modelled and later destroyed are a feature of the Bemba rites. Such clay figurines are evidently found north east of the Bemba into Tanganyika (Cf. H. Cory: *African Figurines: Their Use in Puberty Rites in Tanganyika*). They do not figure in the Luvale ritual. Nor can house painting be used among the Luvale since the girl sleeps in a branch hut without plastered walls. However the Luvale girl is instructed in the making of string figures, or cats cradles. These are commonly said to be a diversion to pass her time, but this is an explanation to conceal their real significance. An outline of their names and symbols in comparison with the Bemba **mbusa** is instructive:—

muhela (bed). Occurs as clay model in Bemba.

matemo (hoses). Also in Bemba **mbusa**. **chitwamo chavatu vavali** (the stool of two people), symbolizing marriage of two people "sitting on one stool" (Cf. Richards *op. cit.*, p. 85, for two people on one stool though her explanation is different).

wato (boat). This is not mentioned in the Bemba **mbusa**. The Luvale symbol it is said to represent **kele umwe muwato** (one bream in a canoe, i.e. caught by a fisherman). This is interpreted as meaning that a person in distress should expect to find help from fellows and is especially applied to the expression **ou ali nalijimo, ou ali nalijimo nyi mwatala mukwavo iya?** (if two women are pregnant they should help each other when giving birth).

jikombo (broom). An allusion to sweeping the house; not mentioned in Bemba **mbusa**. **lungano lwakanyama** (animal's hoofprint). A sexual allusion to the expression **lungano lwachengu** (roan antelope's hoofprint), used to mean a long vagina.

tujilili (waxbills). Gregarious birds symbolic of life as a member of a community. Possibly equivalent to the **fyuni** (birds), in the Bemba hut designs.

lichimbi (navel). Regarded by the Luvale as symbolic of fertility. Richards mentions what she calls obscene jokes about the navel of a figure of a woman in the Bemba rites.

kakweji (moon), symbolic of menstruation.
kafumbakaji (pregnant woman), symbolizing function of child-bearing.

tanganyika (star). Also a Bemba **mbusa**.
meso (eyes). Also in Bemba as a hut painting.

vatambwila. A figure which can be changed to another one when parts of it are manipulated. There are several allusions here. The two figures combined in one symbolize husband and wife. There is also a reference to **katambwilo**, a term for a woman's labia which receive her husband's penis. The changing figure also symbolizes the change of status of the woman effected by the puberty ritual.

wanda (fishing net). Cf. the fish traps of the Bemba rites. There are other string figures less widely distributed (Cf. Leakey. *Some String Figures from N.E. Angola*, Lisbon 1949). I omit reference to these as I have no evidence of their use by girls at puberty rites. Such string games are often used merely as a diversion by both sexes, and it need not be assumed that string games as such are solely used in connection with puberty rites.

(iii) Trees associated with fertility are a common feature in both rites. Among the Bemba special ceremonies of honouring the trees occur. In the Luvale rites these trees are used in the building of the girl's shelter but do not have subsequent special rites.

(iv) The Luvale girl during her seclusion is subject to a number of taboos which do not figure in the Bemba **chisungu** as described. Her ritual separation from normal life is typified by the prohibition on looking up at the roofs of huts when leaving or entering the village; she covers her head with her blanket to avoid doing so. She must not touch cooking pots or plates, and her food is brought to her on calabash dishes. She is not allowed to cultivate or cut firewood although she may carry food or firewood from the gardens and bush to the village.

Both Bemba and Luvale rites involve the use of certain special words to replace the normal ones. Thus the Luvale girl must say **lumba** not **lunga** (man)

mutumba not **ndeho** (cooking pot)
mutondo not **liyanda** (mortar)
mushiko not **musalo** (sifting basket)
litungu not **zuvo** (house)
mujinatena not **uto** (ashes)

These in the case of the Luvale again serve to mark her ritual separation from everyday life. Richards indicates a similar type of substitution of words but her information on the subject is scanty.

The Luvale girl must cut neither nails nor hair during her seclusion; nor may she bath though she can throw water on her body to cool herself in hot weather. She must always speak in a low voice, and to summon anyone from a distance she whistles by pinching her lips (**kutwa chiholi**).

The numerous food taboos of the Luvale girl are almost all associated with sexual symbolism. The **chivende** fish is taboo for it keeps close to the river bank, and will make her hot on one side and cold on the other; moreover it squeaks when caught and her vagina will do likewise if she eats it. Another fish **mbovo yausombo** will cause an excess of vaginal secretions. Slippery silurids will cause a slippery and cold vagina. Red fruits such as those of *Aframomum* and *Grewia* as well as the red-bellied bream (**kundu**) will lead to perpetual menstruation. Other food taboos are required to avoid epilepsy: **musuta** (climbing perch), **pungu** (tiger fish), and bush pig are included among these. Breaches of puberty taboos among the Luvale are also associated with epilepsy as a consequence in the case of males. Fish which have been dried on a pointed stick will cause a disease called **mutunjiko** which will cause frigidity. An animal which has been dragged after killing may not be eaten lest it lead to still-born children. In addition a girl during her puberty rites must avoid groundnut gardens lest she blight the crop, and must always sleep on her side, the preferred position for coitus.

(v) Features of the Bemba rites described by Richards and absent from the Luvale rites include: gardening mimes; symbolic acts involving bows; catching of water insects in the mouth; drinking beer from a hole at a

tree; lion rituals; and a series of hut ceremonies described as taking place on the seventh day.

(vi) Richards specifically doubts the existence of any direct sexual preparation or instruction of the Bemba girl at her ceremonies. These are prominent in the Luvale rites. Some references to them were made in (7). Others involve the administration of aphrodisiac brews of **kaimana** roots and leaves, and roots of **kafulakokoto**; bruised leaves of **kavuvu** and pellets of other leaves inserted into the vagina to give heat; sitting over a heated pot containing cassava, and pieces of **chikwata**, **chikole** and **chilavi** trees to ensure a dry vagina. Her instructress also prepares a love philtre (**mupashi**) for her.

In comparison with the Bemba **chisungu** as described by Richards the Luvale rites exhibit a smaller number of special ceremonial or ritual events during the period of seclusion. The Luvale girl often accompanies mature women to their gardens, though she must not cultivate; she may however accompany and collaborate with women catching fish with sweeping baskets.

The Coming-Out Rites

The Luvale rites present many points of divergence from the Bemba ceremony. The girl's hair is dressed with beads, leaving one plait for her husband's relatives to adorn with beads in due course. After this her formal recognition as their future in-law by presenting her with a white cloth, which from this point she wears on her head over her blanket until she discards the latter. Next occurs the reciprocal rite by which relatives of the husband visit the girl to sweep ashes at her hut, and her relatives do likewise for her husband. This was described in (7). This is called **kukundula mwali** (removing the girl from seclusion) and marks the beginning of the final stage of the rites.

The instructress takes the girl into the bush accompanied by other women to dig up a root called **muzovu** which will ensure fertility. This is known as **kukwata mwana** (getting a child). This is followed by a fer-

tility washing of the girl together with her instructress. Then relatives of the girl arrive and enter her shelter to give her domestic advice, and meanwhile the bridegroom is approaching the girl's village. On his arrival there occurs the all-night vigil described in (7).

Thus far the coming-out rites have been a limited affair involving the two families to be linked by marriage, but after the vigil the girl appears to a wider public. Whilst the bridegroom sits in the centre of the village, the girl is adorned with white clay and red ochre; she then enters the village and dances before her husband and the assembled company singing **mbimba kaluku talilenu helu** (the red locust comes, look up in the sky); an allusion to the sudden and unexpected appearance of the girl with her red ochre adornment. After this ceremonial honouring of the bridegroom she retires with her instructress for her final adornment. She is washed; her hair and nails are cut; she is anointed with castor oil and red ochre. She is then brought into the village shrouded in mats, which are parted by her father and mother as described in (7), and the second dance of the bride takes place. Sometimes the two dances are combined, the first appearance prior to the uncovering from the mats being omitted. Finally the instructress recounts her teaching, describes the girl's pupillage, and then presents are exchanged. Then the girl departs with her husband to his village and certain final ceremonials as described in (7) conclude the ritual.

The reader must refer to Richards's account of the Bemba **chisungu** for the corresponding stages of that rite. The points of divergence are many. Apart from the instructress accounting for her duties and the arrival of the bridegroom, there is little detail in common, although both Bemba and Luvale ceremonies naturally include the logical conclusion of the ceremony, the departure of the girl to her husband. Richards mentions a ceremonial bathing of the girl in the Bemba and also that she appeared the next morning with a white handkerchief on her head, but it is not clear whether this is the equivalent of the white cloth given by the husband's relatives to the Luvale girl, as there is no

mention of whence the Bemba girl got her white handkerchief.

A broad comparison of the foregoing outline of the Luvale rites shows a progressive divergence away from the Bemba **chisungu** as the period of the ceremony proceeds. In the early stages, there is much in common; in the period of seclusion resemblances are still marked, although there are increasing differences. The final stages of the Luvale rites are marked by a much greater degree of public celebration than is found in the Bemba rites.

Interpretation of the Ceremony

The multiple purpose of the Luvale rites was pointed out in (7). They mark a change of role from that of girl to mature and married woman. They emphasise her dual role as a member of two groups, her own matrilineage and that of her husband. They stress the functions of a good wife. They ensure the girl's fertility. Richards lists the expressed purposes of the Bemba rites; the magic of growth and nubility; the teaching of the girl; the **chisungu** as a rite of status change. The expressed purpose of the rites of both Bemba and Luvale is thus in general the same, although differences in both ceremonial and ritual are found between them. Both sets of rites include such features as the ritual separation of the girls and social isolation. This is more marked in the Luvale rites, for the girl is shrouded throughout in a blanket, and has a special shelter built for her. Final bathing, adorning and anointing and return to normal life at the end of the rites are accompanied by more elaborate ceremonial in the Luvale rites. This may be linked with the fact that even more complete ritual separation is practised by the Luvale in the male corresponding rites, those of circumcision; greater stress is laid upon ritual separation and return to normal life for both sexes at the stage of attaining adult status in the Luvale community. Among the Bemba there are no specialized male puberty rites, but the existence of both among the Luvale has suggested the usefulness of some comparison between male and female rites, and this is done below.

In the Bemba rites fear of blood and dangers of sex are stressed, and red dye is regarded by Richards as symbolic of blood in relation to its accompanying dangers. In the Luvale rites this symbolism is associated rather with fertility. There is no fear of menstrual blood as such, but great weight is placed upon the fertility with which it should be associated. Sex is not a matter for supernatural fears, but rather a question of attaining a high standard of proficiency which must be taught to, and demonstrated by, the pupil. Medication and charms must accompany the teaching, and taboos must be observed especially in the case of food lest the desired proficiency is impaired through some misfortune. Fertility in both rites is associated with certain trees. But it would appear that in the Bemba rites, although fertility is desired, the sexual relations needed to attain it are fraught with dangers. In the Luvale ritual it is not avoidance of danger, but the need to attain proficiency in attracting the husband that is considered to require special training.

The Luvale regard actual sexual relations as the means of attaining the desired goal of fertility, with the result that a great deal of emphasis on this type of proficiency is found throughout the ceremony. Detailed teaching is supplemented by songs (cf. Appendix), which refer to sexual relations. In other respects the Luvale girl learns things similar to those learned by the Bemba girl: the songs, special vocabulary, string games (corresponding to the Bemba **mbusa**), the sequence of the rites, the socially approved duties of a wife.

In status change the Luvale rites lay special emphasis on marriage, as is shown by the important initial and final roles of the bridegroom. Hierarchy of age so much emphasized in the Bemba **chisungu** on the other hand finds little expression in the Luvale ritual. There is a difference of emphasis between Bemba and Luvale rites which seems to need comment. Richards points out that the Bemba speak of the rite in connection with **ukukushya**—making to grow. The Bemba believe that the **chisungu** makes the girl grow. In contrast the Luvale regard a girl

as already having grown when she goes to the rite. In other words the Bemba ceremony is needed to make a girl grow up, the Luvale need the ceremony because the girl is already grown up by having started to menstruate. The Luvale terminology here is explicit—**namona ukulwane** (she has seen the state of being grown up); **nakulu** (she is grown up.). This distinction may denote an important difference in Bemba and Luvale attitudes to status change. For the Luvale being grown up involves participation in certain new types of activity, especially marriage and fertility, and so these are also implicit in status change, but they call for a special process of being made to grow up and learn the accompanying dangers before they can be safely faced. Thus the Bemba appear to regard status change of a woman at puberty with a mystical attitude which the Luvale lack.

The discussion in (7) examined the modern Luvale attitudes to the female puberty rites, and these bear upon the secondary motives which Richards distinguishes in her analysis. We believe that she has made a valid point when she suggests that men in authority gain little from a Bemba **chisungu**, and hence they do not contribute to its perpetuation in a society where male dominance is emphasized, and a woman's ritual of little interest to them. Among the Luvale we suggested in our introductory cultural comparison that women enjoy a higher status and more independence than among the Bemba, and this may give the Luvale female rites a higher general social status. An example of a mother emphasizing their importance to her son was given in (7). The rites of emergence among the Luvale are a great social occasion for the whole adjacent community and the great importance given to many rituals in Luvale life, and the fact that they are valued as festive occasions must not be minimized.

Richards shows how tribal values are expressed in the Bemba ritual right up to the apex of authority in the structure of chieftainship so that she suggests that the supernatural powers of Bemba chiefs can be seen as pivoted upon the **chisungu**. In the Lu-

vale rites the welfare of village, kinship groups and family are expressed in the values emphasized, but there is no link above these levels to chieftainship. Since in (2) it is shown that Luvale chieftainship was a late imposition upon basically acephalous people, who never developed a hierarchical political state, our data for the Luvale appears to support Richards's hypothesis. Luvale chiefs do not have any association with sacred fire, and the emphasis on the handling of fire in the Luvale rites is not associated with any wide ramifications of fire taboos in later life, other than the general taboo that a menstruating woman should not handle the cooking fire of others.

From her study of the Bemba **chisungu** Richards advances the hypothesis that there is a link between matrilineal descent and fertility ritual. The Luvale place apparently an even greater emphasis upon fertility than the Bemba. Whether this can be related to their low birth rate cannot be demonstrated, and it is not known for how long this low birth rate has existed, although data shows that it has certainly been marked for the last thirty years. Richards points out that in primitive societies it is common to find failure to bear children. This is also largely true of the Luvale but attention should be drawn to the fact that the Luvale consider that a man may be responsible even if he is not impotent. If a woman has had children by one husband, and fails to produce them by a second husband, she may say that his semen is useless. After the consummation of her marriage a girl may collect some of the semen, and show it to her grandmother to prove that it is satisfactory. If it is reddish it is considered that the man cannot impregnate his wife. Other examples of the recognition that a man may be responsible for the failure to procreate could be given. As far as the Luvale are concerned we would say therefore that a woman is commonly, but by no means solely regarded as responsible for failure to bear children.

Richards notes that clan and lineage unity are little expressed in the Bemba **chisungu**; emphasis is on the family and not on the lineage. She suggests that this is linked to

political structure with a centralized chiefly authority. We think that the converse expressed unity of clan and matrilineal kinship in the Luvale rites supports her hypothesis. In the blessing of the girl at the beginning of the rites, her mother's brother invokes the ancestors on her behalf. Here as in all such spirit invocations the founding ancestors of the clan are first addressed, and then the genealogically ascertainable ancestors. The whole Luvale rites stress the importance of fertility to the girl's matrilineage which is then linked by "fictitious" kinship to clan membership. The significance of clan and matrilineage in Luvale dogma is discussed in (2) together with the corporate importance of matrilineages, and in some respects clan membership. These were the only important effective units of Luvale society. If the Bemba **chisungu** reflects centralized political authority, and the family, it can equally be said that the Luvale rites emphasize clan and matrilineal unity in a society lacking centralized political authority.

In the forming of the marriage contract important differences occur. Richards points out that a Bemba youth provides his own token marriage payments, and works for his father-in-law; his maternal relatives often do not help him. In the case of the Luvale the youth's maternal relatives normally help him to find his marriage payments; formerly his mother's brother regularly arranged his marriage for him; at the initial stages of the female puberty rites the boy's relatives assist him in building the hut for the girl's seclusion. The dual link of the marriage by which a girl is attached at the puberty rites both to her own matrilineage, and to that of her husband is strongly emphasized. Thus there is much less of an individual contract by the boy with his wife's relatives than is the case with the Bemba. This aspect of Luvale marriage is brought out again in further discussion below.

We have no statistical data upon which to compare the relative stability of Bemba and Luvale marriages. Uxorilocal Bemba marriages represent opposite alignments of the parties, and it is suggested that the Luvale woman enjoys a better status in her husband's

village, than the Bemba youth at his wife's village, and is subjected to fewer tensions. Nevertheless study of African court records suggests that Bemba court assessors are very reluctant to agree to the dissolution of first marriages until they have made great efforts to adjust whatever domestic difficulties have arisen between husband and wife, when one of them seeks a divorce. This is not apparent in courts dealing with Luvale divorces. Whether or not, Luvale marriages are in fact statistically more unstable than Bemba marriages, it would not be wrong to say that divorces are easier to obtain among Luvale than among Bemba. Data quoted in (8) serve to indicate a high degree of instability of Luvale marriages.

The Bemba have a strong belief in the mystic links between man and wife, and considers that if one dies the spirit of the deceased lingers around the survivor until brought back to his or her kin by a relative of the deceased having intercourse with the survivor. With the Luvale the belief in the haunting spirit of the deceased partner is also found, but it is not necessary for a relative of the deceased to bring it back by an act of intercourse. It may be got rid of by sleeping with an unwitting stranger; alternatively the relatives of the deceased may give the survivor some white beads which he or she throws on to a public path. Whoever picks them up takes away the haunting spirit. The lack of strong mystical relationship among the Luvale, and lack of fear of supernatural consequences of adultery except in the case of a pregnant woman may reflect the freedom with which Luvale women are able to enjoy adulterous sex relations whilst married, or be lent by the husband to friends, although the Luvale husband has full rights to damages if another man is found to be having unauthorized adulterous relations with his wife. A person who had adulterous relations with a woman prior to her husband's death, especially if he is related to the husband, will refuse to sleep with her after the husband's death lest the jealousy of the spirit of the dead man should emerge to afflict him (**sungu lyakalunga**—jealousy from the grave).

Although the relationship of marriage is not in itself fraught with great dangers among the Luvale, it may become more dangerous if the two partners swear an oath not to dissolve their marriage. This may be performed in various ways by rites of a sexual nature such as licking each other's sexual organs, or by eating a chicken which has been cooked with each other's sexual secretions. In the event of such a ritual having been performed the death of one spouse will be quickly followed by the death of the other unless the survivor takes immediate steps to be medicated to remove the danger. On the death of a spouse the relatives of the survivor may ask whether this ceremony of **kulyangula** had been performed so as to take steps to free the survivor from the danger of death. If the survivor dies within a day of the previous death of the predeceased spouse, he or she will be buried next to his or her spouse, with an intercommunicating tunnel between the graves. This special situation serves to emphasize that although sexual or marriage relations among the Luvale are not *per se* dangerous, special circumstances may create dangers not in themselves inherent in the relationship.

But if the supernatural aspects of marriage relationship are stressed among the Bemba far more than among the Luvale, the converse is true of the actual obligations between the kin-groups of man and wife in the event of death. A Luvale man must compensate his wife's matrilineal group on her death for their loss of a member, for the mourning rites, for the potential or actual loss of fertility, and for the services rendered by her to him—as well as make payment to the buriers. He must also compensate the woman's matrilineage for the death of the woman's children during her marriage to him. If the husband dies, his widow must likewise compensate his matrilineal relatives but to a less heavy extent. Fuller details are given in (8). The Luvale female puberty rites result in a marriage between two kinship groups; and the relationship between the two groups when terminated by the death of a spouse must be finally dissolved by payments of compensation. These payments (**jipepi**) are

of course quite distinct from any brideprice which is not returnable on the death of a spouse. They serve to emphasize the essential nature of Luvale marriage as a contract between two groups.

Proof of the virility of the man is found among the Luvale after consummation of the marriage by the exhibition of a symbolic leaf or stick (7). Failure by a husband to give his wife a child is according to Luvale dogma liable to result in termination of the marriage by the woman's relatives, but in practice this is by no means always the case. Women who do not have children have advantages to the husband provided that the relatives of the wife do not insist on breaking up the marriage, and in any case many Luvale women today avoid the bearing of children by various devices. Principle and practice differ markedly here, and are evidently much more flexible than among the Bemba. The paradox of the Luvale rites with great emphasis on fertility as an expression of values of matrilineages flourishing today whilst modern young Luvale desire the opposite was discussed in (7).

Sex hostility is very pronounced on the Luvale ceremony in contrast to the Bemba. This is discussed further below and its connection with virilocal marriage suggested. Examples of songs are quoted later to show how women joke at and mock sexual relations in general, the lust of men, and the shortcomings of individuals who fail to achieve what women want. Richards comments on the secrecy of the **chisungu**, and suggests that it is the Bemba women's compensation for their seclusion from other aspects of tribal life. Secrecy is equally a feature of both male and female puberty rites among the Luvale, and women are under a penalty of going mad if they reveal the secrets of the rites, just as men may incur madness, leprosy or impotence if they reveal the secrets of the circumcision rites. Nevertheless it is true to say that the secrecy surrounding the **mungongi** and **chiwila** rites of men and women is much greater than that which surrounds the puberty rites. Men and women know a great deal about each other's puberty rites, and the secrecy surrounding them is a

pose rather than an actuality. This may be in part a relatively modern development for in the past women did not know that a man was inside a **likishi** costume, and believed that it was a ghost. Luvale rituals have tended to become secularized to maintain them as social functions, even when part of their purpose and symbolism is no longer believed in.

Low marriage payments and matriliney are characteristic of both Bemba and Luvale societies, but the residential aspect is different since the Luvale are virilocal. The Luvale bridegroom does not come as a lion or a warrior but as a husband with obligations to house and dress and treat well his future wife, and to cause her to bear children for her matrilineage. The paradox of the Bemba **chisungu**, where the position of the bridegroom as a stranger submissive and working for his wife's parents is contrasted with his ritual position which compensates him with special honours, does not arise. In the Luvale ritual the bridegroom plays an essentially social role in helping to knit together two kinship groups which are linked by the marriage. His relatives help him to make the marriage, and to perform the initial rites; at the emergence they again accompany him to complete the ceremony, and admire the attractiveness and dancing skill of the bride. But there is no question of possible future inferiority of the young husband on account of uxori-local marriage. Yet hostility between the sexes is openly expressed through the songs called **myaso yachiza** during the ritual. Richards suggests that the absence of such hostility in Bemba rites may be connected with an unconscious guilt at robbing the man of his children, which is expressed in fears on the part of women that the men will leave them, and on the part of men that their wives will not respect them unless taught to do so by the **chisungu**.

In Luvale society the man is equally robbed of his children who are produced for his wife's matrilineage, but many Luvale women do not bear children, so that perhaps the point is of less real importance in spite of the tremendous ritual emphasis on fertility. Moreover the Luvale bridegroom does not expect

subservient respect from his wife in an egalitarian society, but a harmonious relationship in which each gives sufficient reciprocal respect to the other to maintain a balance in a society in which the status of men and women is balanced rather than stratified. The Luvale girl who goes as a stranger to her husband's village goes not to a male-dominated society but to a group where she is welcomed as **nyali** (sister-in-law), with the easy familiarity which this relationship includes. It may be suggested that this practical harmony of relationship goes hand in hand with sexual hostility on ritual occasions, because although society endeavours to be so egalitarian, in fact male dominance underlies it through the very structure of any society, and polarity of the sexes, however much this is minimized in every-day matters. A catharsis is necessary from time to time to enable the conflicts of theory and practice to adjust themselves.

Ritual Patterns and the Female Puberty Rites

Richards considers that there are three Bemba rituals of special importance: rituals surrounding chieftainship, economic rites concerning the cultivating and harvesting of food, and formerly, rituals concerned with war. She shows how these rituals are all clearly reflected in the Bemba **chisungu**. Later in her Appendix A. she remarks that the Yao and allied peoples of Mozambique hold both male and female ceremonies, but she does not refer to the male ceremonies of the Luvale and allied tribes.

In the first place it is noteworthy that although rituals are a dominant feature of Luvale life, no rituals of supreme importance exist to correspond to the three most significant Bemba rituals. The most important Luvale rituals are the male and female puberty rites, the **mungongi** and **chiwila** rites, and the rituals of appeasement of troublesome ancestral spirit emanations (**mahamba**). The parallelism between the male and female puberty rites is very great, and exhibits so many equivalent features that some comparative discussion is warranted.

Ritual separation is found in both: the boys are secluded in a lodge away from the

village, whilst the girl sleeps at the village but in a special hut, and spends her periods of daily time away at a special tree. Many features of daily life are barred to both sexes during their seclusion—the handling of sharp implements, contact with fire, cooking of own food, eating off normal plates and dishes, washing and cutting of nails, contact with the opposite sex. Special clothes are worn by both; the girl has her blanket, the boys their kilts of frayed bark.

Both girls and boys are considered especially exposed to the attacks of familiars of witches during the period of seclusion; both carry a bundle of medicine slung over the shoulder to avert such attacks, and this danger is one reason why hair and nails must not be cut, since these are substances which a sorcerer may use to injure their owner. Both girls and boys throw left-over food on to a special dump at the end of a meal. Both sexes are subjected to a series of food taboos a breach of which will endanger the success of the rites. The prohibition of foods is not a mere prohibition of certain foods but in large measure the prohibited foods are the same for both sexes: pig, bush pig, tortoise, climbing perch, tiger fish, red-bellied bream, **chivende** barbel, small carnivores.

Trees symbolize fertility for both girls and boys; the economic functions of adults, hunting for men and agriculture for women are symbolized in the rites; both males and females assume new roles in society as adults after the rites are completed. Ethics of citizenship are inculcated in the teaching of both sexes. Tribal cohesion and matrilineal descent are emphasized for both.

The organization of the ceremonies finds many parallels. Both boys and girls have instructors known in either case as **vilombola**; attendants are present to help the novices in both rites—the **kasambijikilo** of the girl and **tulombolachika** of the boys. The teachers are both offered white clay; in the case of the boys it is offered to the teachers before the act of circumcision, with the girl the teacher receives it after the girl's menstruation is over. Both boys and girls rise before dawn. When food is brought both boys

and girls stand up. At the sound of footsteps both girls and boys must stand up.

An interesting feature common to both rites is the placing of twigs at cross-roads or junctions of the paths near the village. This serves to inform strangers that there is a puberty ritual in progress. In addition it is considered that sorcerers will think they can obtain medicine from the twigs with which to bewitch the novices, and consequently they will not come nearer to the actual scenes of operations where they might get more effective medicines for the purpose.

Before emerging from the rites both sexes are taught certain dances which they display on the day of the emergence, **kuhunga** in the case of boys and **kuwita** for girls. Both sexes likewise have a ceremony of digging a root; with the boys this is called **kufula kangamba** (digging up a skunk), the root in fact being that of *Aframomum*. This provides the boys with bark for their kilts of **jizombo**, but its toughness and resilience is also symbolic of and confers male potency; the girl digs up her **muzovu** root to ensure fertility.

In both male and female rites sexual acts complete the process of maturation. The youth on emerging from the circumcision lodge performs a special act of coitus to remove the taint of childhood (**kulifumisa chikula**). The girl emerges to go to her husband, and the marriage must be consummated with symbolic proof of the husband's virility. If by any chance the husband is not available, the girl should have coitus with another man to mark the attaining of adult status, known as **kulifumisa kakenge**. Esoteric words to conceal the names of common objects are learned by both sexes; both boys and girls are teased during their seclusion.

Social tensions, expressed by males reviling females in song at the male rites, and females doing likewise to males in the female rites, are a very pronounced feature of the Luvale rites. The rites of emergence are marked by washing, dressing in new clothes, decoration with red ochre and white clay, exhibition dancing by the newly initiated,

and an account of their stewardship by the instructors or instructresses. Both boys and girls once they have passed the puberty rites are competent to play adult roles in the puberty rites of those who come after them, although in the case of boys there is some grading of status in this since a youth would act as junior helper (**kalombolachika**) before becoming an instructor.

We have seen that the female rites fall into a threefold division of entrance, seclusion and emergence. In the male rites an identical division is found. Circumcision and the period of special danger until the wounds have healed; seclusion after healing during which the strictness of taboos is relaxed; emergence with celebration. In the female rites there is no point after entry at which the taboos and special observances of the girl are relaxed until her time of emergence. This may be correlated with the severer degree of physical separation from normal life imposed upon the boys. For the boys separation is absolute prior to healing; after this they may go to a special spot (**mbumbu-lu**) near the village, and meet old women past the menopause or children below the age of puberty. Thus the strain of ritual separation is somewhat relaxed for boys. The girl although separated during the day, sleeps in the hut in the village at night, and may help in carrying garden produce or firewood. If this analysis is correct the Luvale recognize that boys undergo a more exacting and rigorous separation in the early stages of the rites, for which compensation is provided later.

In view of these many features common to both male and female Luvale rites, it is well to draw attention to some differences. Luvale chiefs bless the fertility and adult role assumption of males, but do not bless the female rites in which emphasis is primarily on the girl's fertility in the interests of her own matrilineage. In invoking the spirits before the rites, the instructors of the boys are asked to receive the favour of the ancestors, but this is not done to the instructor of the girl. Singing of songs is a feature of the boys in their lodge both at sunrise and sunset, as well as when food is brought. The girl

does not engage in such singing. At the male rites the masked **makishi** play an important part, in the female rites they are absent.

Features of the social structure of Luvale society are reflected in certain different aspects of the male and female rites. A Luvale village is built up on a core of matrilineally related males, practising virilocal marriage, and acting jointly where need arises; as a parallel boys are initiated at puberty in groups and cooperate in joint activities in the lodge. A girl has a more solitary role in society; although she belongs to a matrilineal group, her adult married life will be spent away from her matrilineal relatives, at the village of her husband, and her puberty rites are focussed not upon joint activities of women as one of a group being initiated simultaneously, but on her function as an individual of fertility to her matrilineage, and her duty to be a good wife to her husband.

The presence of the **makishi** in the male rites has been noted above. In examining Bemba dogma and values Richards found no trace in the **chisungu** of dogma concerning the after-world or union with the supernatural. This absence of such features is equally true of the Luvale female puberty rites. But the element is present in the male rites, and is one of a complex of symbols associated with the **makishi** maskers, some of which represent ancestors of the novices. The male rites by their corporate nature stress cooperation of men together, and by the presence of certain ancestral **makishi** they stress further that the living men are a continuation of a wider grouping with continuity in time between themselves and those who lived before them. It should be noted that women may invoke the ancestors on behalf of kinsmen, and such invocations are not exclusively a male function. The presence of the ancestral **makishi** cannot therefore be regarded as symbolizing an exclusively male activity of union with the ancestral spirits.

So many dogmas and values are found reflected in identical terms in Luvale male and female puberty rites that the sexes are portrayed in large measure not as exhibiting continual polarity in society but as having

identical rather than opposite roles. Their contrasting roles in certain types of activity are also portrayed, but fertility, economic duties, the importance of role assumption as adults, ethics of citizenship, tribal cohesion and matrilineal kinship are common to both and not a matter of sex. Since the **mungongi** ritual has its female counterpart in the **chiwila** of women, and the **mahamba** rituals do not discriminate between male and female in status, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a characteristic of Luvale rituals is to reflect the relatively equal status of men and women in Luvale society. The parallelism of the male and female puberty rites is thus as much a mark of Luvale tribal value as the very different series of dogmas and values expressed in the Bemba **chisungu**. *Chisungu Ceremonies in Central Africa*

Richards in her Appendix A has surveyed the distribution of **chisungu** ceremonies in Central Africa. The account of certain aspects of the Luvale rites (7) appears to have been published too late for citation in either appendix or bibliography. We shall limit ourselves here to a few general notes in amplification of her summary. Lunda, Luvale, Luchazi all have female puberty ceremonies essentially similar to those which we have discussed. Van Buggenhout is quoted as using the term **chisungu** for Lunda, Luena (i.e. Luvale) and Chokwe rites. It is well to point out that none of these people in fact use the term **chisungu**: **nkanga** in Lunda, and **wali** and **chilunga** in Luvale and Chokwe are the correct vernacular terms.

The Mwinilunga Lunda are quoted as "having a paramount chief of acknowledged importance in the Kazembe". This is not so; the Mwinilunga Lunda acknowledge a common historical origin from the old Lunda kingdom in the Belgian Congo, as does Kazembe, but they are not, and never have been, under any political control by Kazembe.

In amplification of Devers's scanty data quoted, it may be remarked that the relation of the southern Lunda ceremonies to marriage is precisely as we have described for the Luvale. The **mbudi** (*sic*) tree should read **muudi**.

Reference is twice made to high marriage payments being associated with virilocal marriage among what Richards calls the Angola people, (i.e. Lunda, Luvale etc.). Luvale marriages as far as we know have never been characterized by uxorilocal residence with the husband serving his father-in-law according to the Bemba pattern. But Luvale marriage payments have always been low; in the past a token of hoes, a few skins and a bracelet—hence the Luvale term **matemo** (hoes). The Luvale confirm the suggestion that matriliney and female puberty rites of the type described go together, but we can see nothing in the Luvale either in the rites or in the structure of society to support a further correlation with uxorilocal marriage and labour service by the bridegroom. High marriage payments do not and never have existed among these Angola peoples to suggest that uxorilocal has been replaced by virilocal marriage on this account.

In the reference to the Chewa rites in Appendix A it may be noted that **fisi** is a hyaena and not a jackal as translated.

Richards does not attempt a comparative typology of **chisungu** rites for different Central African tribes and, obviously the data available from various areas is too uneven to make this very profitable. We however venture to suggest a line of comparison which might prove rewarding. Sociologists have drawn a distinction between hierarchical societies characterized by ascribed status in which the scope for individual vertical mobility is limited by the automatic ascription of status by predetermined circumstances, and egalitarian societies characterized by competition and scope for individual initiative, status being achieved rather than ascribed. The Bemba and the Luvale form examples of the former and the latter respectively. Status and seniority is a feature of the Bemba **chisungu** and Richards has stressed the emphasis placed in the Bemba rites in the saying that the armpit is not higher than the shoulder in this context, and describes the hierarchy of old women involved. Moreover the Bemba rites stress male dominance throughout their course.

The Luvale rites lack this emphasis on

seniority, and there is no such emphasis on male dominance. A sense of guilt which finds expression in the Bemba rites is lacking in the Luvale rites, and here, too, guilt is a characteristic of hierarchical and not of egalitarian societies. In general the comparisons made earlier in contrasting features of Bemba and Luvale culture all bear out this dichotomy of the hierarchical and competitive or egalitarian society.

We are indebted to Dr. R. J. Apthorpe of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for stimulating discussion on the possibility of cultural comparison between African societies in Northern Rhodesia on these lines. As he is himself interested in developing this theme on a more general basis, it would be inappropriate to enlarge upon it here, and in any case would go beyond the immediate scope of the present comparative study. A comparison however of Bemba and Luvale societies from this point of view gives such a close correlation between them and the features associated with hierarchical and egalitarian societies that it is proposed to discuss in a separate study the question of Luvale values and cultural characteristics as a reflection of an egalitarian and competitive society.

Richards expresses the hope that her account of the Bemba **chisungu** will suggest hypotheses to be tested against data on other puberty rites for girls. We have endeavoured to make some comparative contribution towards this end. The excellence of her account and of her analysis has proved itself in the way in which it has furnished a framework within which to examine our data for the Luvale, and from the foregoing account to develop various points of similarity and contrast. In many respects our data strongly support her hypotheses, and show how useful a detailed description and analysis of even a single performance of a ritual may be to those making a comparative study. We are accordingly grateful to her for resisting any temptation to abbreviate (cf. her p.55). Richards's discussion of the Bemba **chisungu** in relation to tribal dogma and values we found of special interest, and after endeavour-

ing to compare our Luvale data on similar lines, it may be well to regard this as a future fruitful field for comparative studies of rituals in general. We believe that the comparison of male and female puberty rituals among the Luvale strongly supports this point.

Appendix: Songs

The following are only a few examples of the songs associated with the Luvale rites.

- (a) At the entry of the girl into seclusion when the dance known as **lilombola** is held:—

Enu malunga eh—eh maloma enu enu mwazanga mikonda mwazanga jimbiyo

You men eh—eh your penises, you like pubic tatooing, you like labia.
Ove mukoka mukandwingila kulihi? lomo lyahola lyehi

Clitoris where will you find a sensation of aching, when the penis has lost its erection.

Twamuwananga mbembele twamuwananga lomo lyaSamalenge muchima ngwenyi kwatako livoko ngwenyi vyambala

We found him without an erection, the penis of Samalengé; in his heart he wants intercourse but his hand refuses because it is someone else's wife. (A song sung to revile a villager considered by the women to be backward in having affairs with them).

- (b) Teasing the girl (**kufuza mwali**):—

Lelo yayoyo kalumukila muze walingelenga kalumukila lelo kalumba kove kalumukila katukanga uyenga kalumukila

Today you must change your ways; change from what you used to do; now you have got a husband, you must change; up and on your way, change.
N.B. **kalumba** esoteric word of the rites to refer to man.

- (c) Song of girl when dancing after emergence:—

Imana nguchikineko muno muzango ami ivene ngwasema mwana

Stop now while I dance here in the village centre for I have given birth to a child (i.e. I have now obtained fertility).

- (d) Songs of women to girl:—
**Kano kahela kakandende
lelo nangwandumuka**

This bed is too small, I shall fall over the end.

**Lisungu chikuma nalizakalya lunga
kalile lunga nalizakalya pwevo**

Too much jealousy will consume the husband; if not the husband, it will consume the wife.

**Ove walela veyayeyo
vakwenu valela vana
ove walela mbindu**

Whom have you reared? Your fellow women rear children, you only rear testicles (Allusion to woman without children).

**Yayayaya Mahalu
walikata nalunga
nokowenu wamusulila**

Oh Mahalu (girl's name) you are in love with the man but you hate his mother. (i.e. you must not do thus, but must get on with all your husband's relatives).

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- (4) White, C. M. N. "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination among the Balovale Tribes", *Africa*, 1948, 81-104.
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- (6) White, C. M. N. "Notes on the Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes", *African Studies*, 1953, 41-56.
- (7) White, C. M. N. "Conservatism and Modern Adaptation in Luvale Female Puberty Ritual", *Africa*, 1953, 15-23.
- (8) White, C. M. N. "Factors in the Social Organisation of the Luvale", *African Studies*, 1955, 98-112.
- (9) White, C. M. N. "Notes on the Mungongi Ritual of the Balovale Tribes", *African Studies*, 1954, 108-116.

MARGARET WRONG MEMORIAL FUND

AWARD FOR 1957

In accordance with the new arrangements for the award of the Margaret Wrong Memorial Prize and Medal, a large number of individuals and organizations in all parts of Africa were invited to recommend persons who had rendered outstanding services to literature in Africa during recent years. Twenty-nine recommendations were received and considered by the Administrative Committee of the Fund, and it was agreed that the Medal and Prize for 1957 should be awarded to:

The Rev. J. J. R. Jolobe, Lovedale, South

Africa. Mr Jolobe, who is the author of a number of verse and prose works in both English and Xhosa, has for some years been a member of the Lovedale Press Committee and of the Editorial Committee of *The South African Outlook* (a monthly periodical published at Lovedale). He is now a member of the Xhosa Language and Literature Committee appointed by the Education Department.

Arrangements are being made for the presentation of the Medal and prize in South Africa at an early date.

THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF ZULU

From:

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Bantuists in this country are, I am sure, grateful to Mr A. T. Cope for his article "The Grammatical Structure of Zulu", *African Studies*, 16, 4, which provides another glimpse of the method of grammatical analysis propounded by Professor M. Guthrie. So far, this method has not found favour with Bantu linguisticians in this country (nor, apparently in America) and it is possible that our critical attitude towards it is due to a lack of understanding of its basic tenets. The blame for this, however, must lie with the proponents of this method who have done little to acquaint the linguistic world outside of the School of African and Oriental Studies with a full description of its theory and practical application. I believe that other linguisticians in this country will agree that Mr Cope's article has done nothing to change our attitude towards the Guthrie method. Knowing that Mr Cope will be the first to welcome discussion on his analysis of Zulu grammatical structure which represents, in the main, a Guthrie approach, I will indicate briefly what would appear to be false premises and unsatisfactory techniques inherent in this approach.

Firstly, there is the denial of function as a feature of grammatical systems and a reliance on pure form in establishing the major grammatical categories (i.e. the "parts of speech"). It is stated that "Function as a criterion for grammatical analysis involve either form or meaning." From subsequent discussion it is clear that the equation "function=meaning" is imputed to the followers of the Doke method as covertly practised if not overtly stated. But this interpretation of "function" must surely be shared by a minority of linguisticians only.

It seems futile to deny that form classes are systematically ordered and distributed in meaningful utterances. To me, and to many linguisticians I feel sure, "function" is the

sum of these features of order and distribution associated with a form class. Form classes which have features of order and distribution in common are said to have the same function and most statements on function (and all that are really required in identifying parts of speech) are simple statements that "A and B have the same function" or "A and B have different functions". The absence of descriptive statements of function may mislead some into believing that it does not exist, but if the interpretation of the term is that suggested above, then it has very real existence, and recourse to meaning is not necessary in order to indicate similarity or dissimilarity of function.

When Mr Cope says that the "function of a pronoun is to stand instead of a noun", he is indicating a similarity of function with which all will agree and is applying the test of function with which all will agree and is applying the test of substitution which is the chief technique in establishing identity of function. A wider application of the technique would lead him to the function classes of Zulu. When he goes on to say, however that "here function is form, not form on the morphological level, but form nevertheless, form on the level of syntax", his use of the term "form" is distinctly esoteric. The linguisticians who accept function as a criterion in grammatical analysis proceeds initially according to form and establishes form classes. The next step is to identify function classes according to various techniques of which the commutation test is probably the most important. It would seem, however, that a technique which relies solely on form can produce no more than a loose assortment of form classes, large or small in number according to how broadly or narrowly the criterion of form is applied; whereas the form-and-function school produces an analysis in which the associations between form classes are reflected and their distribution indicated. Units of prime significance in sentence structure are thereby recognized.

One of the serious weaknesses of the "form-only" school seems to reveal itself when the examination of structure centres on the syn-

tactical level and major units of syntactical structure are sought. Entirely new criteria will have to be applied in identifying these units. For example, it seems necessary to abandon the basic premise in order to identify **lapho behlala khona** (where they live) and **ekhaya** (at home) in **Ngisebenza lapho behlala khona** (I work where they live) and **Ngisebenza ekhaya** (I work at home) as syntactical units of the same type. No formal feature reflects this identity which, if nothing else, is intuitively felt. Or is this structural unity denied? A method of analysis which copes with the simplest units but has to be radically modified in order to deal with complex units, hardly commends itself.

Mr Cope applies the form-only approach to Zulu and emerges with two major and one minor form classes, viz. Nominals, Verbals and Particles (ideophones and interjectives). But these are not, after all, mutually exclusive categories of words and early recognition has to be made of a not inconsiderable number of words which fall between two categories. Thus there are Nomino-Verbals which "have the characteristics of both Nominals and Verbals". These include copulatives and verbal nouns with the prefix **uku-**. Also, "The verb in relative construction is . . . a Nomino-Verbal". It would seem, indeed, that if the "form-only" school applies its criteria rigorously, words that fall between two of the three main categories are considerably more numerous than it would care to believe. Any finite form of the verb conjugation incorporating deideophonic verb stems such as **-mboza** (cover) and **-khumuka** (come loose) violates the first characteristic of Verbals mentioned on page 211, viz. that of having "the phonetic (*sic*) structure C or CVC or CVCVC of the root". Similarly nouns derived from verbs in classes other than 15 (e.g. **umsebenzi** "work") do not possess the first characteristic of Nomi-

nals, viz. "the phonetic structure CV or CVCV or CVCVCV of the root".

A classification that accepts sub-classes which reflect characteristics associated with two or more primary classes is not necessarily to be condemned, but overlapping can hardly be regarded as a commendable feature. When, however, such sub-classes assume substantial proportions, and the *forms* in them such considerable diversity (according to the chosen criterion of *form*) as **ukuthenga** (to buy), **owayethenga** (who used to buy), **abathengile** (who have bought), **yindoda** (it is a man), **mkhulu** (he is big), **bebahle** (they being beautiful), etc., then it is that the method of classification itself becomes suspect.

It is suggested, in conclusion, that the "form-only" school will look in vain for support for their methods from the ranks of American linguisticians who are, after all, mainly responsible for bringing the linguistic world to its senses as regards the use of the criterion of meaning in grammatical analysis. Form is indeed their criterion *par excellence*, but it is not the only one. A reading of H. A. Gleason's widely accepted treatment of descriptive linguistic procedures (*An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, New York, 1955) will serve to convince anyone regarding this fact.

The form-and-function school, with which Professor C. M. Doke's name is usually associated, readily acknowledges that flaws in its present methods do appear when subjected to the strict scrutiny of modern structural linguistics, but nevertheless believe that the edifice as a whole still stands firm. When the dust of current discussion and argument on aspects of linguistic structure has settled, we believe that modifications will be possible which will afford this method of analysis a very high degree of acceptability.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Editorial Committee gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below, during the period 16 August 1958, to 31 October 1958. Reviews are published as circumstances permit, but no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in *African Studies*

- GANN, L. H.: *The Birth of a Plural Society (The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company 1894—1914)*. Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka. 1958.
- HULSTAERT, G.: *Dictionnaire Lomongo—Français: A—J*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1957.
- HULSTAERT, G.: *Proverbes Mongo*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1958.
- KIRBY, PERCIVAL R.: *Jacob van Reenen and the 'Grosvenor' Expedition of 1790—1791*. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg. 1958.
- KNAPPERT, JAN: *Het Epos van Heraklios (Een proeve van Swahili poëzie: Tekst en vertaling, voorzien van inleiding, kritisch commentaar en aantekeningen)* Proefschrift. N. J. Hofman. n.d.
- MIDDLETON, JOHN, and DAVID TAIT (eds.): *Tribes without Rulers (Studies in African Segmentary systems)*. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London. 1958.
- PAUL, NGOI and E. BOELAERT: *Lianja-Verhalen: I : Ekofa-versie*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1957.
- TERRISSE, B.: *Tivani Vukriste bya Nwina (Tidyondzo ta vupfumeri)*. Swiss Mission in South Africa, Johannesburg. 1958.
- THOMPSON, ANTHONY: *Vocabularium Bibliothecarii (in English, Français & Deutsch)*, Supplement 1958. Unesco, Paris. 1958.
- VARLEY, W. J. and H. P. WHITE: *The Geography of Ghana*. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London. 1958.
- WORTHINGTON, E. B.: *Science in the Development of Africa*. Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, London. n.d.
- : *Basutoland: Annual Report by the Director of Education for the year 1957*. Morija Printing Works, Basutoland. 1958.
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- : *Inter-African Conference on Statistics, 2nd Meeting, Lourenco Marques 1957*. Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.), London. 1958.
- : *List of Specialists in the Phyto-Sanitary Field*. Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.), London. 1958.
- : *Li tsoa kolleng li monate—The Sesotho Digest. No. 3, August 1958*. Moeletsi oa Basotho, Mazenod, Basutoland.
- : *Moeletsi oa Basotho (Soto Catholic Newspaper)*. 1933—58 Silver Jubilee Issue, 5 July 1958. Moeletsi oa Basotho, Mazenod, Basutoland.
- : *Recent Trends in Fertility in Industrialized Countries*. Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1958.
- : *Report of the King George V Memorial Museum for the period 21st July 1956 to 31st December 1957*. The Government Printer, Dar es Salaam. 1958.
- : *Special Study on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories*. Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1958.
- : *Symposium on Eichhornia Crassipes, Leopoldville 1957*. Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.), London. 1958.

Prospero and Caliban—The Psychology of Colonisation. O. MANNONI. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. 1956. 218 pp. 22s. 6d.

The rejection of the colonial concept as a form of government and the transformation of colonies into independent states is one of the most striking political developments of the twentieth century. The rapidity with which sovereignty is being achieved by former dependent areas—often without the progressive constitutional changes, best illustrated by the evolution of the British Commonwealth before World War II—is creating many problems, both for the populations who suddenly find themselves on their own, and for those who remain subject to colonial status. Some of these problems are of a psychological nature, having to do with the readiness of the citizens of the new sovereign states to exercise their democratic responsibilities, with their reaction to their new status, with their attitudes to their former rulers. In those territories where independence is being deferred, or where white and black must continue to co-exist, the psychological problems relate to the attitudes of European settlers towards the natives, the varying responses of the latter towards their rulers and towards the white political élite or employers and the nature and origins of racialism.

In *Prospero and Caliban*, Mannoni touches on all these problems, basing his discussions on a close study of the situation in Madagascar, the nature of Malagasy culture, the roles of "europeanised" Malagasies in the colonial community, and the significance of the revolt which occurred in Madagascar in 1947. Whilst he is careful to confine his analysis to Madagascar, his conclusions are applicable to colonial situations elsewhere, for in an approach which is based as much on social anthropological and metaphysical as on psychological considerations, he formulates the nature of the colonial personalities, both of the various types of colonisers and of the colonised.

Mannoni finds the existence of a "dependence-complex" to be the key feature of the

relations between Europeans and Malagasies. The latter accept the former as providers and protectors, and experience anxiety only at the prospect of abandonment. The colonist, on the other hand, being a person who "has fled because he cannot accept men as they are", who has an urge to dominate, who lacks an "awareness of the world of others" who have to be respected, readily accepts this desire for dependence, though he fails to understand that the dependent attitude does not imply gratitude for whatever advancement the native gains from his presence.

The book is concerned with an analysis of the nature and antecedents of the dependence complex and its implications for human and political relations in a colonial territory. This analysis leads eventually to the generally applicable conclusion that "once the capacity to enter into (an impersonal) relationship with men and things has been acquired, the dependence complex can be dissolved and the way is open for the attainment of a free and independent personality, a scientific approach to reality and a democratic society".

The author draws support for his thesis from psychoanalytic studies of "The Tempest" and "Robinson Crusoe". The relations between Robinson and Friday, between Prospero, Ariel and Caliban are essentially those which he believes to hold between the members of colonial societies. Prospero, the weaver of magic, the wielder of absolute authority, and Caliban who personifies the earthy aspects of man's nature, who complains not about being exploited but about being betrayed, who plots against Prospero not to win freedom but to find another master whose "footlicker" he can become, fully personify the archetypes of the colonial situation.

There is no doubt that these literary analogies vividly illustrate and clarify Mannoni's analysis, but they do not validate it, as the author tends to imply. This is a weakness in the doctrinaire Freudian approach adopted by Mannoni, which treats psychoanalytic hypotheses as if they were self-evident facts. The reader is likely to be irritated or convinced, depending on his own

attitude towards Freudian psychology, by such items as the analogy between the typical colonial racist argument of "Would you like your daughter to marry a native" and the severity of Prospero's punishment for Caliban's attempted violation of Miranda, resulting from his own unconscious incestuous desires. The use of Freudian clichés is frequently obtrusive, as in the following sentence on page 172: "... a reform of this kind was introduced in Madagascar at such an ill-chosen moment . . . that it led to a psychological regression, a reversal of the transference, and an outburst of hostility arising from a sense of guilt."

Mannoni's style is not easy. It has a tendency towards disconnectedness resulting from a process of association which is not always made explicit to the reader, and there are frequent allusions to psychological theory, philosophy, sociology and literature. The exposition does not present a logical and ordered sequence through the chapters, but rather the illumination, in turn, of particular facets of a complicated theme. It is not an easy book to read, but an absorbing one. Mannoni gives new insight into many psychological problems besides those arising from colonialism, despite the fact that some of the reasoning that leads to his thesis is unlikely to be acceptable to all his readers.

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Demographic Yearbook, 1955. United Nations, Statistical Office, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York. 1956. 781 pp.

It has now become established practice to concentrate on a different demographic subject in each issue of the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook*. The topic chosen for 1955 is that of the main results of population censuses taken in a large number of countries during the decade 1945 to 1954. About three-quarters of this volume consists of census data showing the population classified by

such characteristics as sex, age, marital status, literacy, economic activity, fertility and size of households, and according to the important civil boundaries (provinces, states, etc.), urban-rural areas and localities of various size. The remaining 141 pages of statistical tables (Part B) are restricted mainly to those vital statistics necessary for maintaining some continuity with the basic series presented in each issue.

An introductory chapter gives a brief history of census-taking during the past 100 years. Interesting data are presented to illustrate the marked increase since the middle of the last century both in the total number of countries taking censuses and in the total population covered by such enumerations. Whereas in the recent decade, covered by the *Yearbook*, three-quarters of the world's estimated 2,500 million population were enumerated in censuses. The number of sovereign countries taking population censuses increased from 24 during the decade 1855-64 to 65 during the 1945-54 period.

Noteworthy about the important and authoritative world population estimates given in Table 2 is that for the first time the results of the 1953 "enumeration" of the mainland of China is taken into account. The total population of China is now estimated at 582 million, which is more than 100 million above the previously used estimate (for 1948). This major adjustment in the figure for China moves the estimated world total population for 1954 to 2,652 million, with that of Asia constituting 55 per cent of the total.

A number of tables in this issue contain statistics showing the relative urbanization of the various countries. The urban and rural population, the population by size of locality, the population of capital cities and cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants are presented. Another table of great sociological significance is one which, for the first time, presents international comparisons of the *size of households*. Private households are classified according to the number of members from 1 to 16 or more persons. The Statistical Office cautions, however, that owing to differing definitions of households in the

various censuses, a reference to the census procedures is advisable in evaluating differences among countries.

Whereas previous issues of the *Demographic Yearbook* presented enumerated and estimated population by age in five-year age-groups only, the present issue in addition to a comprehensive collection of such statistics for recent years, also presents enumerated populations by single years of age. These detailed tables which provide information of great value for studies of fertility, children of school age, the population of working age, etc., are presented for no fewer than 85 countries. Whipple's Index has been applied to test the accuracy of the distributions by single years, and the results are given in the Technical Notes of the volume. Statistics on the economically active population classified by detailed age-groups are given for the first time. The other tables on this topic are similar to those regularly given in the *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*. No basic tables on fertility previously shown in the 1949-50 and 1954 issues are repeated in this *Yearbook*. They show the female population by age and number of children born alive, and separately by the number of children living. For the first time since the 1948 *Yearbook*, statistics on literacy by age and sex are given, and for the first time since 1949-50 a table showing marital status by age and sex is included. While most of the census data contained in this issue are from enumerations undertaken during the decade 1945-1954, a historical series of total population figures dating back as far as 1850 is given, together with the annual rate of increase. It is a pity that the tables on life table mortality rates and survivors at specified ages given in most recent *Yearbooks* are not included in this issue. However, one table presenting the latest available data on expectation of life for persons reaching specified ages is given for no less than 62 geographical areas, the largest number of areas for which this information has, to my knowledge, ever been assembled.

The 1955 *Yearbook* will form, with the 1956 *Yearbook*, companion international census reference volumes for recent censuses.

As such they will be of inestimable value to demographers and social scientists generally. These annual volumes of international demographic statistics reflect the great progress which has been made in the last decade not only in the quality and coverage of the data for individual countries, but also in the sphere of international compilation and comparability of social statistics.

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Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria. H. D. GUNN.
International African Institute, London.
1956. 138 pp. Map. 17s. 6d.

This volume is Part XII Western Africa of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa edited by Daryll Forde. This volume covers a little known area of Nigeria. The lack of information about this area becomes apparent as soon as the bibliography is examined. Some twenty-odd published sources are listed. These sources are swamped by the references to unpublished Government reports. Two lists of references are given, but many of the sources are the same in both lists which means unnecessary repetition.

Furthermore, the population of the area comprises remnant races and broken tribes, and general confusion has ensued from refugee groups taking sanctuary within its bounds. As an illustration of this chaotic state the districts of Lere and Kauru are an instance, where the hill peoples "number at least fourteen distinct groups." In addition, most of the peoples in these districts "are little known, since they are off the beaten track and rarely visited by Europeans." Further differences are found in the various societies and economic systems: both patrilineal and matrilineal societies are found in this area and a wide range of subsistence economies exist from that of the female hoe cultivator with the male tending the cattle to the male hoe cultivator with the female tending the cattle.

In describing the rural economy, the local names for the food crops are given in accordance with the instructions laid down on page 43 of the sixth edition of *Notes and Queries*, issued in 1951 by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, but adherence to these vernacular terms without giving, where available, their botanical equivalents indicates an indolence that is to be condemned. Thus among the crops mentioned in page 15 are *acha*, *gero*, *gauta*, *tamba*. A reference to Dalziel's *Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa*, London, 1937, shows that *acha* is *Digitaria exilis*, *gero* is *Pennisetum* sp., *gauta* is *Solanum incanum*, *tamba* is *Eleusine corocana*. It is not until page 63 that one learns that *tamba* is a grain, while on page 70 one learns at last the botanical name of *acha*.

The area covered in this report is shown to have been subjected to much movement of tribes whose social structure is based on age-groups (called age-grades by Mr Gunn), initiation rites and circumcision. Some tribes acknowledge an ancestral spirit called Dodo (apparently a Hausa word, p. 79), whilst among others Kashila or Gwaza reign. In some tribes circumcision of the male takes place when the first teeth appear, in others not until about the age of twenty. Burial orientation varies from east-west to north-south, or is absent.

Marriage is highly variable. Among some tribes the term secondary marriage is used for a condition whereby a woman is legally married to two men simultaneously. Each must pay the parents to retain their children, hence one sees that marriages by *lobolo* payments exist, consequently both the senior and the junior levirate are found. Secondary marriages have been forbidden by the British Administration. There is also marriage by mutual consent. Polyandry of a sort exists and concubinage due to Muslim influence is also found. After describing these variations, Mr Gunn then adds that "the custom of *auren shan gari* (Hausa term) persists in some places." This Hausa term is not translated and the reader is left in the dark.

Evidence of dual grouping appears in the

structure of Miya, of Sokwa, and of Kaninkon, but has not been discussed.

On page 29 one is informed that "tsafi celebrations are conducted at a large tree in the *kurmi* . . ." One is not told that *tsafi* is Hausa for "fetishism", *vide* Bargery's *Hausa Dictionary* (whatever "fetishism" may be), while it is only on page 31 that one learns that *kurmi* means "bush".

Little exists of any political institutions. The leaders are mostly *primus inter pares* and one may say that on the whole, rule is conciliar and the rule of law is non-existent. There is also much decay of social institutions. Thus East found that among the Kano, the elders were thoroughly demoralized and scorned by youth. "Sarkin Tsafi died about 1941 and the elders professed no heart to select a new one and carry on traditional rites."

The average acreage cultivated by the adult Katab male is declared to be five acres. This acreage is well above the average.*

With the very scrappy material available, Mr Gunn has done a good piece of work, even though the net result is that one becomes aware of a chaos of broken tribes preserving many different facets of their disrupted cultures. The area suggests a golden field for the study of the break-down of cultures and of culture contacts.

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The Economy of the Hausa Community of Zaria. M. G. SMITH. Colonial Research Studies No. 16. H.M. Stationery Office, London. 1955. vii+171 pp. Tables, illus., map, IX appendices. 20s.

This monograph is a lithoprint from a typescript report prepared by the author for the Colonial Social Science Research Council. The field work was carried out from May 1949 to December 1950 and so a full seasonal rotation of crops and rituals was covered.

*See my article, "Average size of a Native hoe farm in Nigeria", *Farm and Forest*, Jan.-June, 1947.

The monograph is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the social structure of local communities, 64 pages; Part II with the system of rank and authority, 44 pages and Part III with the modern economy, 60 pages.

The author points out that Zaria comprises the following communities, the Fulani, of whom there are three distinct groups, one being a ruling group, the Hausa proper and then various groups of pagan tribes. Hence the economy of Hausa or Muslim communities must be seen within this setting.

The question now arises: what is a community in such a setting? The author defines a community as men who recognize a common chief (*sarki*), regularly attend a common market (*kasuwa*), have a common prayer ground (*Masullacin Idi*) and acknowledge a common priest (*liman*). Then follows an accurate description of the functions and duties of the chiefs. Their social values and obligations are discussed and finally the author shows how, through the principle of clientage, "the chief of a local community, as the client of an official who is himself usually a client of the ruler who appointed him, is the link between the community he controls and the state which sanctions his authority. Within the community, officials and title holders are clients of the community chief in the same way that the chief himself is a client of his political superior, and the chieftainship itself is an object of intense political competition between persons eligible by birth for appointment, who in turn attract clients in proportion to the local estimate of their prospects. Thus the institution of chieftainship, as the nexus of relations of clientage, contributes to the integration of the group under its authority to a greater degree than any other institution. At the community level the chieftainship in its range determines the boundaries of the community; in the competition, interest and activities it develops it activates and organises community sentiment; through its relations of clientage with superior authority, it subordinates and integrates the community of its concern into the life and structure of the state, and by its presence in the form and with the attributes of rank outlined above,

it gives the community a hierarchic order and structure" (p. 11).

Here is one of the best descriptions I have met of a "community" and it would be well if textbooks incorporated this description and definition. Field workers would then have an excellent frame of reference to work from. One should compare such an assessment of a community with what is given in, for instance, *The Study of Sociology*, edited by F. C. Bartlett (*et als*), London 1946.

The distinctions in the social scale, class distinctions, range from the aristocracy by birth through ten grades to the butchers, the lowest class.

Though the title of the monograph indicates that the subject is the economies of Hausa communities in Zaria, yet Part II is a searching analysis of the structure and functioning of the state and, as such, cannot be overlooked by anyone dealing with, for instance, political economy or with the economics of administration. Part II reveals how the gift system works and throws light on the balancing of internal forces, on tensions and on stresses. Useful and effective distinctions are drawn between status and rank. Status is acquired by birth, rank is the gift of Allah—or of *gaisuwa* (gifts).

The Hausa give scope for an interesting study of the impact of Muslim religion upon the kinship system which is classificatory. Kinship is related to marriage but Muslim marriages are brittle, this resulting in "the virtual disappearance of agnatic lineages among the contemporary Hausa as a result of the conversion to Islam of the aboriginal Hausa-speaking peoples of the Western Sudan" (p. 41).

In chapter two there is a good description of a typical family compound, with its entrance hut and subdivisions. The adoption is widely practised, but not the adoption of strangers. Then follows an analysis of the basis of the authority of the compound head. While there are general rules, these are not applicable to all compounds and as a result a very interesting study ensues to ascertain the basis upon which authority of a compound head is grounded. Usually seniority in age is the basis. Kinship relationships are

also a determining factor. "Community of interest . . . highly correlated with closeness of descent lines among co-resident Hausa male kin, and varies with kinship distances. The manner in which kinship operates to determine internal structure of the compounds is clearly shown" (p. 37).

Kinship is very real among the Hausa. "The term *dangi* denotes kinsfolk. The *dangin uba* is the kin of the father, the *dangin uwa* is the kin of the mother." The Hausa kinship system is bilateral, but women "as a sex are given no public role, and hence no significant status in the community, in which structurally their roles are defined completely by the system of kinship and marriage, so that politically and legally women are internally an undifferentiated collection of individuals, none of whom are full social persons." (p. 13), so therefore "the ties with the father's kin are of a different kind from those of the mother's kin . . . agnatic kinship forms the basis for the great majority of Hausa domestic groupings, and agnatic kinship is traced through the father" (p. 41).

Then follows an excellent analysis of the functions of the kinship terms and the associated behavioural patterns. There is, for instance, the avoidance-shame relationship between parents and their *dan-fari* or first born, whilst there is public demonstration for the *auta* or last child. This avoidance-shame relationship is also found among the Fulani. No satisfactory explanation for this type of behaviour has been offered.

It also follows from the classificatory type of kinship that there are preferred marriages; both cross- and parallel-cousin marriages exist. The impact of various cultures upon the Hausa is seen in their types of marriage. They recognize at least eight types of marriage (p. 50). There is one type of marriage, *auren tsintuwa* involving the bridegroom in high *lobolo* payments in which there is no divorce (p. 52). With classificatory kinship systems also goes seniority by age and differentiation by sex, as for instance also occurs among the Bantu peoples of South Africa. But whereas among the South African Bantu the father's eldest sister is called "female father" and is

aloof and a disciplinarian, she is among the Hausa the favourite aunt. It is to his maternal kin that a Hausa turns for material aid and succour when misfortune befalls him. There is an interesting section on joking relationships, which are far more widely based than is generally known, for, beside kinship joking relationships, there are joking relationships between categories of persons of different occupations, as between butchers and blacksmiths, or between *mallams* and hunters (p. 43).

" . . . at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Mahommedan Habe kings begin . . . " (p. 66). The correct convention is Muslim, not Mohammedan.

Part II, Chapter IV gives a very useful historical summary of the political history of Zaria and describes the keen rivalry and competition between different dynasties for the right to rule. With the rulership went a number of attendant titles and amongst these titles are those of Taraki Babba and Taraki Karami but no mention is made that Taraki may be a title connected with the Tura, who, according to Palmer (*The Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, London, 1936, p. 15) were people of Asiatic extraction trading in slaves.

What is of great interest is the role of the slave in the hierarchy of the state in maintaining the state. The author points out that "in maintaining the stability of the state slaves and nobility were complementary". "A symbiotic arrangement was inevitable, which allowed selected slaves, as delegates of the ruling class, to exercise certain rights over the common population, and assured the nobility of the loyalty of their slaves and the control of the *talakawa* (common people). It has not been accidental that the great majority of the Native Authority police . . . were, until quite recently, drawn from among former slaves of the Emirs" (p. 88).

One thus sees that the former system is still sufficiently vigorous and intact for it to become resuscitated when Nigéria becomes independent in the near future. The masterly analysis of how the state formerly functioned and how it still functions makes it clear that "attempts to develop local government along English lines, with emphasis on activity by

elected local councils" (p. 108) has not progressed far enough to be able to maintain itself should independence be granted to Nigeria in the near future.

Dr Smith remarks: "Among political data, the table of official appointments shows how foreign standards of suitability for office-holding often run contrary to native political practice, and the impact of these foreign standards on native political appointments" (p. 169).

The statement (p. 90) that "under English law two or more witnesses to the charges against him (the accused) are required . . ." is an astonishing remark and shows a complete lack of appreciation of English law. An interesting sidelight is given in this section on how the remedying of complaints against African officials of extortion or of fraud is prevented by the emissaries of the Emir acting as a filter, buffer, or insulator between the complainant and the source of justice.

There recently appeared an English translation of Mauss's book *The Gifts—Forms and Functions of Exchange*. Dr Smith's monograph provides many examples illustrating the function of *The Gift* in human society. A remark will suffice: "The turnover in gifts is held to vary in relation to the needs, status, prospects and kinship ties of the individuals concerned, but primarily in relation to their position in the system. In general, political appointments among the Hausa are traditionally preceded by gift-giving on the part of the candidate to those who control such appointments, and office includes among its uses the receiving of gifts on a variety of pretexts" (p. 91).

The difficulties that beset the investigator into domestic economies are described in detail and provide excellent guidance and advice for other researchers in such fields. The detailed quantitative budgets given in the various appendices are a valuable storehouse of information. The author closes with a brief analysis of the culture changes that have taken place in the political, social and economic structure and remarks: "the native political system displays great vitality, and the social structure of which it is so important

a part even to-day shows little immediate signs of disruption or decay." Dr Smith is to be congratulated on a very masterly analysis and exposition of a Hausa community from the political, social and economic aspects. One wishes that he could be set to undertake further field work. This monograph is a "must" for both sociologists and social anthropologists.

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Buzani kubawo (Ask from my father).

WITNESS K. TAMSANQA. Oxford University Press, Cape Town. 1958. vi+104 pp.

This is a Xhosa play in six acts, with scenes varying from four to six in each. The story, briefly, is that Gugulethu (Our pride), the son of Zwi lakhe (His own word, i.e., Opinionated), is, against his wishes, compelled to marry Thobeka (Humble one), a local girl of whom everyone speaks highly. But Gugulethu has promised marriage to Nomampondomise (Mother of the Pondo-mise), a girl with whom he was at college and whom he loves sincerely. However, his father will not hear a thing of this, and stubbornly sees the marriage to Thobeka effected. Nomampondomise, reading of the marriage in a newspaper is so shocked that she drowns herself. Gugulethu leaves home immediately after his marriage and works at Umtata for twelve years, without once going home to visit his family. His father sends Thobeka with her children (by another man) to Umtata, to Gugulethu. He murders them all on the evening of their arrival. He is arrested, tried, and sentenced to death.

In the preface, the playwright states that his aim in writing this play is to show the differing attitudes of the old generation and the new to custom, as well as to demonstrate the power of love. He pleads also that since drama is still a comparatively unexplored field in Xhosa literature, his readers should adopt a tolerant attitude towards his play.

And indeed such a plea is necessary, for in spite of the dramatic potentialities of the plot which gives scope for the creation of a great play based on the age-old conflict between the old ways and the new, between tribal customs and western concepts, between domineering parent and rebellious child, the writer's ignorance of stage technique makes of the work a dramatic novel rather than a play.

The characters move from place to place with astonishing and bewildering rapidity. For instance, in Act 1, Scene 3, Gugulethu and Mzamo, his friend, are said to be leaving Mzamo's home and *walking* to MaMjwara's place, to get beer, and after some time they leave *on horseback*. Again in Act 3, Scene 1, 45, Zweni leaves the stage to look for Gugulethu and finds the latter walking up and down in his room. He talks to him for a while and then leaves to call his (Zweni's) brother, Mthetho, and takes him to Gugulethu's room. One wonders what happens on the stage while these people have left it. Where on the stage is Gugulethu's room? In Act 1, Scene 4, 14, the stage directions read: "It is at a wedding. We see Gugulethu and Mzamo *appearing over a hill*"!!

The division into scenes appear arbitrary at times. Thus in Act 1, Scene 1, 3, the scene ends with Magaba, Gugulethu's mother, asking her daughter to make some coffee. Scene 2 opens with the directions: "After they have had coffee, Magaba relates what happened at the wedding. Her husband enters, drunk." The first words uttered by Magaba are: "Oh, how nice your coffee is, Nozipho . . ." The two of them then discuss the wedding, their conversation covering pages 3-7. Only then does Zwiakhe enter. Why the separate scenes? Why can't they talk while making and drinking coffee? Why must the curtain fall only in order that these people should make and drink their coffee?

Again in Act 2, Scene 4, the directions read: "On Friday evening, Zwiakhe sends a child to go and remind his (Zwiakhe's) relatives that they are to meet on Saturday morning. Among his relatives, Nyaniso, Mthetho, Zweni and others arrive. That same evening Gugulethu receives a letter from

Nomampondomise. He reads the letter (aloud?)." Immediately following the letter, *in the same scene*, are the further stage directions, "On the following morning, the relatives arrive and Zwiakhe opens the discussion. . . ."

Instances of a confusion of scenes abound, constant reminders of the writer's blissful ignorance of not only what a stage can hold but also of what an audience can take. The chief character, Gugulethu, is very poorly drawn. He is extremely unpredictable, not because his character is such but because the writer makes him so. The result is that his "madness", for instance, is unconvincing, because we do not see the reason why he should go mad. There is no element of greatness in him and, therefore, there is no element of tragedy in his fall. Judicial court scenes depicted in the play have an atmosphere of complete unreality. For instance, in Act 6, Scene 5, Gugulethu, while giving evidence, starts singing a hymn and *the spectators join in*, but no sergeant-at-arms calls "Silence in the Court"!

The dialogue is, on the whole, very well handled and we catch repeated glimpses of good Xhosa wit and humour. The language used by the characters is appropriate to their respective backgrounds — the older generation sticking to polished, "pure" Xhosa, while the younger lot uses words like *Chief, maan, itsotsana*, etc.

In this work, the influence of the Elizabethan dramatists, notably Shakespeare, with his battle scenes and wedding scenes, armies and horses, as well as soliloquies and asides, is apparent. So also is the influence of the cinema screen, where scenes change rapidly. What the writer has overlooked, however, is that Shakespeare's technique and dramatic devices were always designed to meet theatre and stage conditions and the limitations imposed thereby. Further, the writer seems to be unaware that the cinema screen is a different medium from the stage. Few Africans, admittedly, have seen a real stage play. The familiarity of most, with English drama in particular, has been acquired through books, with the result that, like the writer of this play, many of them

tend to think of a play as something to be read rather than as something to be acted. Hence, probably, the writer's ignorance of not only stage technique and dramatic devices but also the works of modern dramatists. However, we hope, as the playwright does, that *kobuye kulunge* (things will finally come right).

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African Sculpture. LADISLAS SEGÝ. Dover Publications Inc., New York. 1958. iii+34 pp. Map, 164 photographic plates, short bibliography. Paperbound. \$2.00

The word "African" has many meanings, and seldom relates to the whole continent. Dr Segý must be congratulated on including more of Africa than is usual in works on African art. Apart from a solitary example from Angola and another from Southern Rhodesia, he still, however, concentrates on the admittedly best areas of West and West Central Africa, and ignores the rich field of Angola, and the poor but not entirely barren fields of East and Southern Africa.

The author, who is a well-known collector, makes it quite clear that his interest in

African art is "as art and not as ethnological specimens". Nevertheless, the first section of the introductory text is devoted to establishing African works of art in the background of the social usages of which they form a part. The discussion is somewhat general, but the important point is made that in their own background these are not "works of art" but useful objects, and that the sculptor looked on his carving as a dwelling place for a spirit which would help him or the community. Herein lies the strength and emotional appeal of African carving. It was the disturbance of traditional ideas by the entry of Europeans into West Africa, rather than the material culture they brought with them, that started the decline in the artistic merit of the local sculpture.

The remainder of the introduction is an appreciation of the artistic qualities of the pieces illustrated.

The publication is remarkable in two respects: firstly that the generous selection of illustrations contains few of the old favourites—the publishers claim that eighty-five per cent have not been reproduced before; secondly that the price brings it within the reach of ordinary collectors and students—an all too rare event—with the only visible economy in a cover of glazed paper instead of board or cloth.

E.M.S.